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SOVIET CDE AMBASSADOR EXAMINES LATEST SESSION

PM231055 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 85 First Edition p 5

[O. Grinevskiy article: "Stockholm: What's New?"]

[Text] The latest session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, in which the 35 states which took part in the all-European conference in Helsinki in 1975 are taking part, ended in the Swedish capital at the beginning of this month. The conference is among those international forums which are intended to help restore detente to the European continent and break the dangerous vicious circle: confrontation -- arms race -- confrontation. In the troubling nuclear age we need political thinking which accords with the realities of the age. Such concepts as the policy of strength, deterrence, and the attainment of military superiority must give way to the nonuse of force, confidence, and mutual consideration of security interests. The attainment of these goals is the aim of the proposals put forward in Stockholm by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries in both the political and the military sphere.

Pivot of Debate

It is no accident that M. Karhiluoto, the Finnish representative at the conference, described the question of the nonuse of force, raised by the socialist countries, as the pivot of the debate. Its resolution would be an expression of the concentrated will of the European states, the United States, and Canada to set a course toward strengthening the foundations of peaceful cooperation between our countries.

It is pleasing to see -- and this can certainly be counted on the credit side at the conference -- that despite U.S. resistance, the socialist countries' proposal on the nonuse of military force has firmly entered into the fabric of the Stockholm talks. An animated and at times sharp debate started over the Soviet document on the basic provisions of such a treaty. And that is only natural, because the Soviet proposal develops, and gives concrete form to the general formulation of the principle of the nonuse of force in what is, at present, the most important salient -- that of banning the use of weapons of any kind, either nuclear or conventional. To put it in legal language, we want to prevent the use of material resources or the execution of actions contrary to the principle of the nonuse of force.

Naturally, it is not a question of copying out the UN Charter or the Helsinki Final Act all over again. On the contrary, while reaffirming the provisions they contain on banning the use of force or the threat of its use and taking them as a starting point, the socialist countries, in line with the reality of the growth of the danger of war, propose to concentrate attention on making the nonuse of military force the effective norm of European -- and not only European -- life.

The more so since positive experience exists in this regard. Despite the fact that the principle of the nonuse of force already figures in the UN Charter, the 35 states which took part in the all-European conference in Helsinki considered it necessary and useful to state it once again, and in a more detailed form. So what is stopping us now from developing the principle of the nonuse of force still further, especially as regards those aspects of it which were not given concrete expession either in the UN Charter or in the Helsinki Final Act?

As the debate showed, the neutral and nonaligned states also advocate that an international commitment on the nonuse of force assume the necessary weight and authority and that its specific content serve to improve the present dangerous situation in Europe.

There is wide support among them for Cyprus' proposal that a solemn declaration on banning force in any of its manifestations be adopted in Stockholm.

Western Countries -- France, Italy, Spain, Greece, and others -- are in favor of making the principle of the nonuse of force effective. It is clear from their representatives' speeches that what they want is not simply to reaffirm this principle, but to develop it and express its content in the form of concrete confidence-building measures in the military sphere.

Of course, by no means all the NATO countries are yet prepared for businesslike talks. Despite a year of being forced to make promises, the United States has yet to give a sensible answer concerning its position on this very important international problem. Statements have been made at a very authoritative level in Washington to the effect that "the United States is prepared to discuss the Soviet proposal on the nonuse of force in the context of the Soviet Union's consent to concrete confidence-building measures." As is well known, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have made their own concrete proposals on military issues too. These are on the negotiating table. And? As before, no movement on the U.S. side. And it is clear from the U.S. representatives' statements that they are hoping to get away with the mere repetition of what is enshrined in the UN Charter concerning the nonuse of force. But how much good would come of such a repetition? We cannot but agree with Canada's representative, who said that if the aim is simply to repeat the principle, that would serve no purpose.

On Confidence

The working documents submitted by the socialist countries on limiting the scale of military exercises in Europe, on notification of large-scale exercises by ground, air, and naval forces, and also on large-scale troop movements and shipments provided a new direction for the development of the debate on military confidence-building measures.

It is no secret that the holding of large-scale maneuvers involving hundreds of thousands of servicemen, thousands of tanks, and hundreds of combat aircraft and ships equipped with modern, lethal weapons can cause an increase in tension and constitute a threat to the European peoples' security. The more so since at times exercises in Europe take on such a large scale that they can hardly be distinguished from the deployment of troops for the commencement of hostilities, as can be seen from the example of certain NATO maneuvers.

The regions of NATO naval exercises are also coming closer and closer to Europe. But more than once there have been cases where, literally before the whole world's eyes, ordinary U.S. exercises have seemingly been transformed into aggressive acts against sovereign states. And large-scale troop shipments? Are not they one of the signs of preparations for the start of war? They have not infrequently been used and, unfortunately, are used today as a means of exerting forceful pressure, blackmail, and intimidation and constitute a major source of suspicion and distrust in interstate relations.

The measures proposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are aimed precisely at lessening suspicion and tension, and thus strengthening confidence and security. In terms of both their scale and their nature these measures go considerably further than the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. They deal not only with large-scale ground forces exercises, but also with large-scale air force and naval exercises, troop movements, and troop shipments. All this constitutes a real leap forward both from the viewpoint of the nature of the military activity subject to notification and the exchange of information on such activity, and from the viewpoint of the fulfillment of confidence-building measures.

The socialist countries' proposals correspond to the positions of the neutral and nonaligned states in many respects. The majority of these states energetically advocate the limitation of the scale of military exercises. Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Malta, Cyprus and others also supported, in the main, our approach to the question of extending confidence-building measures to the activity of such strike forces as air and naval forces.

In comparison with the socialist countries' proposals, which really lead toward a lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe, the U.S. and NATO position largely amounts to only a few not very significant shifts in the parameters of notification of ground forces exercises provided for in the Final Act. Frankly, all this looks odd. The Western countries call on the Soviet Union to adopt cardinal confidence-building measures, but themselves propose at best a modest improvement in the Helsinki measures adopted 10 years ago.

In general, it must be said that the U.S. and NATO proposals are mainly oriented not so much toward strengthening confidence as toward obtaining information which has nothing to do with confidence, but rather the reverse -- it arouses suspicion regarding the intentions of those who try to obtain that information. By any classification, this information is intelligence. For instance, it is a question of the European states' giving information about the structure and location of units and formations and their mobilization activity. Yet it is not envisaged that the United States would provide the same information. For instance, no information would be provided on the U.S. dual-based forces, which are specially earmarked for shipment to Europe and which form the basis of NATO's military might as regards ground forces. Air and naval forces, the main U.S. and NATO strike forces intended for operations in Europe, would remain outside this "exchange of information."

It appears that the NATO politicians regard confidence-building measures as a kind of pump for getting information out of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries concerning the most important parameters of their military potential. It goes without saying that serious talks cannot be built on this basis.

Deeds Are Needed

The U.S. delegation solemnly declared that its objective at the Stockholm conference is to seek a reduction in the possibility of any war at all. Of course, it would be possible to agree entirely with this objective. But one would like to know: In what way does the United States intend to reduce the possibility of any war at all by excluding large-scale air force and naval exercises from the system of notification and observation? Is it really necessary to remind people that for the United States, World War II started with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor -- by air and naval forces?

Former French President Poincare once observed wittily that the trouble with some people is that they are preparing not for the next war, but for the last. The U.S. proposals seem to be aimed at preventing not even the last war, but the one before last.

Diplomatic talks -- provided, of course, that people seek their success and do not try to turn them into a monotonous exchange of threadbare arguments -- are a dynamic process requiring the development of the sides' positions, a bold quest, proposals and counterproposals aimed at the attainment of mutually acceptable agreements. Talks can only be constructive if all the participants make movements toward each other, and do not try to impose their own views and concepts on each other.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries seek to conduct talks in a positive spirit.

The proposals submitted by them take account of the considerations and desires expressed by the neutral and nonaligned countries as well as the NATO states. But no movement on the part of NATO to meet them halfway could be perceived at the conference. The position of the United States and some of its allies has become ossified, so to speak, and there was not even any attempt on their part to take account of the views of the other participants in the talks. All this prevents the conference from moving toward practical talks and does not allow it to establish a businesslike pace.

The Stockholm conference has been in progress for 18 months now. That is quite a long time. Especially since little more than a year remains for a report to be submitted on the work done to the Vienna meeting of participants in the all-European process, which is to evaluate it and adopt a decision on the transition to the second stage of the conference -- the discussion of disarmament measures too.

There is no denying that in that time, especially after the creation of working parties, it has been possible to examine many questions in varying degrees of depth. Not only the sides' positions and the paths forward, but also the difficulties hampering progress can now be seen more clearly. As the debate has shown, the conference has the potential for progress and could achieve mutually acceptable accords. To this end, it is necessary for the United States to take a constructive stand and embark on concrete, equal talks in Stockholm, as the socialist and nonaligned countries propose.

USSR DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ON SPACE ARMS

PM231641 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Army General V. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister: "What Lies Behind the 'Technological Spurt' Into Space?"]

[Text] American imperialism is continuing the arms race, focusing its efforts on extending it into outer space. The purpose of this race is extremely clear -- once again to attempt to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in general. This time the gamble is on the U.S. technological superiority which has supposedly been achieved, which allegedly enables it to make a spurt in the creation of new types of arms, first and foremost space arms.

U.S. military-political circles, with their characteristic hypocrisy, are trying to convince the U.S. population of the inevitability of this policy, which is dictated by the Soviet Union's supposedly aggressive aspirations. The Reagan administration and the Pentagon have announced a kind of total mobilization of major scientific and industrial resources for the attainment of the goals set. To this end, existing arms programs are being reviewed and new ones drawn up. Hundreds of industrial firms and scientific and design institutions not only in the United States, but in other NATO countries too, are becoming involved in the fulfillment of these programs.

The most vivid example of such a large-scale U.S. military-technical program is the program for the militarization of outer space. The plausible name "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) was dreamed up for it. It was proclaimed by Reagan, doubtless under the influence of U.S. military-political and military-industrial circles with an interest in obtaining large military orders, and hence large profits.

This program has been officially declared to be only a package of research aimed at the creation of an effective U.S. ABM defense, supposedly against a nuclear missile strike from the USSR.

Spokesmen for the U.S. Administration, as well as General Abrahamson, leader of the space arms program, have repeatedly tried to demonstrate the "exclusively peaceable nature of SDI."

What, according to them, could be more noble than the task of protecting the U.S. population against a Soviet ICBM strike? In fact, the program is patently aggressive and is one of the main U.S. programs aimed at the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union. Nobody has any doubt that it leads to a still greater arms race.

What are the technical propositions on which this assertion is based? And why are there so many opponents to the program even in the United States? To answer these questions, we should turn to the history of the creation of ABM defense in the United States and follow the stages in the development of strategic nuclear forces.

As soon as strategic nuclear missile complexes with missiles equipped with single warheads appeared in the United States in the fifties, the United States promptly started developing the Nike-Zeus ABM system as a countermeasure to the opposing side's possible missiles. Its development led, in turn, to a buildup of strategic nuclear forces in the United States itself with the aim of overcoming a possible similar ABM system in the Soviet Union.

The United States began to create ballistic missiles with multiple reentry vehicles, that is, with several warheads [boyevyye bloki]. Naturally, similar missiles appeared in the Soviet Union in response. Foreign experts judged that the Nike-Zeus ABM system was ineffective against such missiles. President Kennedy took the decision to stop building it.

In the early and mid-sixties, the United States began to develop new ABM systems -- Nike-X and Defender. They did not go beyond the stage of firing-range experiments, but they played a part in stepping up the race for strategic nuclear forces. Still more sophisticated ICBM's, now with systems for overcoming ABM defense, appeared.

The next generation U.S. ABM system was the Sentinel system. It was advertised as a new technological breakthrough. But it too proved to be ineffective.

In 1969, President Nixon announced a new ABM program, the Safeguard two-tier system. The Spartan long-range missile with a powerful nuclear warhead was created for intercepting reentry vehicles outside the atmosphere, and the high-velocity Sprint missile for interception in the atmosphere. It was claimed that the system used the most advanced scientific, design, and technological solutions. On the basis of the Safeguard system, it was proposed to create a U.S. territorial ABM system. This idea, like the current idea of the "star wars" program, was strongly supported by many concerns, which are involved today in the creation of offensive space weapons.

But then too, sensible circles in the United States and many scientists and major experts came out against the creation of such a system and convincingly proved its fallacy. The American Administration then decided to give up the idea and to create only one ABM complex at the Grand Forks missile base (North Dakota).

The Safeguard ABM system, like its predecessors, gave rise to the next development and improvement of strategic nuclear arms.

It is paradoxical that each new ABM system negated itself, so to speak. It was not capable of fighting its opponent; the strategic nuclear forces, which in the United States itself were improving at a rapid rate and which outstripped, each time, the potential of each ABM system. And every time, the qualitative improvement of the strategic nuclear forces was accompanied by a quantitative increase. This fact is convincing proof that work on the creation of an ABM system is work which stimulates the arms race.

Taking into account the organic interconnection between the creation of an ABM defense and the subsequent spiral in the strategic nuclear arms race, the Soviet Union and the United States concluded accords on strategic arms limitation and on the limitation of ABM systems.

The 26 May 1972 USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems bans the deployment of territorial ABM systems. It permits the Soviet Union and the United States to have only limited-purpose ABM systems for the defense of the capital or of one ICBM deployment region. Our country strictly observes the ABM treaty's provision. On the basis of the approximate equality of the strategic nuclear forces of the Soviet Union and the United States and given the sides' lack of territorial ABM defense, approximate strategic parity was achieved. But during the years of Reagan's rule, U.S. attempts to disrupt this parity have been undertaken systematically.

It is natural to ask: What lies behind the siting of Pershing II medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe? The answer is obvious. This is one of the perfidious attempts to disrupt the established strategic parity -- to bring nuclear missile forces closer to the Soviet Union in order to be able to inflict a preemptive nuclear strike, using missiles with a short flight time, against the most important targets.

A similar aim is pursued by the siting of cruise missiles in Europe. Together with the Pershing II missiles, they are designed for the delivery of nuclear warheads to targets in the Soviet Union. According to the Pentagon's intentions, the cruise missiles' low-altitude flight, their antiradar protection, and their mighty nuclear munitions make them supposedly invulnerable to our country's ABM facilities.

All the U.S. strategic missile complexes are being improved, in the direction of increasing their accuracy in hitting targets with a view to inflicting the maximum damage on our strategic nuclear forces in a first strike.

But U.S. military political circles are well aware that they will face inevitable retaliation. Naturally, they do not want to be destroyed. Therefore, work has begun again, at the modern technological level, on the creation of an ABM system, a multitiered one this time.

The space strike tier has been given a decisive role. According to the U.S. Administration's official version, this multitier ABM system is designed for the defense of cities and the population of the United States against a preemptive strike by an "aggressor," that is, the Soviet Union.

It is arrogantly stated that since the United States solved the problems of creating an atom bomb (the Manhattan project) and landing a man on the moon (the Apollo project), it is perfectly possible to create an ABM system at the modern technological level.

But, in fact, the U.S. military-political leadership and the leaders of the "star wars" program are well aware that there is no aggressor and that it is senseless to waste money on defense against an imaginary enemy first strike.

Especially as major U.S. scientists have convincingly demonstrated that the creation of an ABM system to protect against a preemptive strike is questionable at the very least. In particular, the argument is advanced that such a system cannot even be tested and therefore its effectiveness cannot be verified. Who is going to rely merely on the results of computer simulation of the system?

Major U.S. scientists also believe that the analogies between the Manhattan and Apollo projects and the SDI program are unfounded. In implementing these projects the creators overcame problems conditioned by the laws of nature which are ever constant. In the case of the creation of the ABM system the situation is different; -- here the creators will be dealing with people who are just as clever.

It is perfectly obvious that the creation of a multitier ABM system with a space tier of strike weapons and the simultaneous improvement of U.S. strategic offensive forces are being carried out to provide an opportunity to disarm the Soviet Union by means of a preemptive strike and then to defend against an allegedly weakened retaliatroy strike by the Soviet strategic nuclear forces.

But the militarization of space by the United States is not confined to the creation of a space ABM tier. While improving its strategic strike forces, the United States is intensively engaged in the creation of space-based strike weapons to destroy targets on the earth's surface, above all the launch installations and command centers of the Soviet strategic forces. Of course, the work is carfully concealed from the general public. But reports about it do apperar in the open press. This is the true purpose of the technological spurt into space which is being effected in the United States.

The Soviet Union and its scientists, designers, and other experts are well aware of the perfidious nature of this policy and, of course, they will do all they can to ensure that these U.S. actions do no go unanswered.

Scientific and technical progress, to which our party attaches paramount importance in the development of our economy, has always played and will continue to play a very important part in strengthening our motherland's defense capability. If Washington increases its efforts in the practical implementation of the "star wars" program and fails to take reasonable steps to discontinue work in that sphere, the Soviet Union will have no alternative but to adopt countermeasures.

This does not mean that the countermeasures will consist merely in copying the U.S. program and its technological aspects. The measures will accord with the prevailing military-political situation and will be geared to the collapse of U.S. hopes of implementing its "star strategy."

The "antimissile option" conceived by the Pentagon has the sole purpose of providing Washington with the capability to deliver a first nuclear strike against the USSR with impunity. But the Reagan administration is forgetting a very simple truth: Those against whom such decisions are being taken will not sit twiddling their thumbs. They will do everything to wreck the madmen's adventurist plans. And they certainly will be wrecked. That is what happended to the attempted "nuclear blackmail" in response to which the USSR created its oun nuclar shield; the same thing occurred when the United States was hoping to leave our country way behind in terms of nuclear arsenal power; and the same will happen to any other attempt to disrupt the parity of strategic forces.

At the 11 June 1985 conference at the CPSU Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev said: "We are forced to put the requisite funds into the country's defense.

The Soviet Union will continue to make the maximum effort to halt the arms race, but, faced with imperialism's aggressive policy and threats, we must not allow anyone to acquire military superiority over us. This is the will of the Soviet people."

SOVIET MILITARY EXPERT COMMENTS ON SDI

AU191431 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 3

[NOVOSTI interview 'Especially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' given by Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, Soviet military expert, interviewer unidentified, date and place not given: "An Attack On Mankind"]

[Text] Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, Soviet military expert, comments on the American plans to militarize space.

Question: A lot has been written and spoken recently in the United States and beyond about "star wars" and President Reagan's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. People all over the world are asking themselves: Why is Washington rushing into space?

Answer: Let us first of all point out that in the United States itself there are many opponents to the "star wars" program who unanimously say that the new kind of offensive weapon called a space weapon is a great threat to mankind and an attack on its future.

Indeed, the following question is very justified: Why are Washington strategists rushing into space and why has the American space militarization program been camouflaged beneath the misleading name Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)?

The answer comes of its own accord: The current military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States and between East and West is inconvenient for the present leaders in Washington. They are finding it difficult to reconcile themselves with the thought that one has to talk to a power like the socialist Soviet Union on an equal footing. They have already tried many times to restore their military superiority over the Soviet Union, and are still trying.

The aim of the United States and NATO to achieve military superiority is reflected in military budgets and programs. While waging such a policy, U.S. and NATO strategists are exerting direct pressure on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, trying to alter the strategic situation to their advantage, and blackmailing us with war.

That is why the United States is building the potential for a first "disarming" nuclear strike and developing the production of conventional weapons, which cannot match nuclear weapons with their destructive force. The American "star wars" plans, in other words, working on a powerful antimissile defense system and offensive space weapons, is also a form of blackmail.

The United States has decided to fulfill its dream of military superiority over the Soviet Union by conquering space. For it is known that the postwar strategic and nuclear arms race started since the war has not achieved the expected results. The United States has introduced increasingly modern strategic weapon systems (heavy bombers, nuclear missile-bearing submarines, guided missiles, and others), but none of them has helped the United States to achieve superiority. On the contrary, the short-sightedness of the Pentagon's plans has meant that every attempt to create a new type of weapon meets with a lightning reaction from the Soviet Union. In this situation, therefore, Washington cannot count on a victory of a nuclear war.

So the United States has decided to win superiority over the socialist countries in space. What are the intentions of White House leaders? To form an "antimissile shield" over the United States in the shape of a multilayer antimissile defense system, thus depriving the Soviet Union of the possibility of counterstrike. At the same time, they intend to develop their nuclear first strike potential as well as new strategic forces based in space and aimed at land, sea, air, and space targets, and then deal a first strike with impunity, thus achieving military superiority. This is the essence of the American "star wars" program.

Statements by Pentagon activists that "star wars" is purely for defense purposes and the space weapons being worked on by the United States are only a "harmless measure" are political shamanism and deceit. Every military specialist knows that space weapons may be used for offensive purposes. But, however, the United States justifies its "star wars," implementing the SDI will lead to the creation of nuclear weapons and an arms race that goes beyond the point of no return.

As we know, the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and state have adopted a firm stance vis-a-vis the American "star wars" program. The Soviet Union has condemned this adventurist concept because it disturbs the strategic balance, breaks agreements on nuclear weapons, and disrupts the international situation. That is why the Soviet Union strongly calls out not to change space into a new source of war and not to create offensive space weapons. This would permit a radical reduction in nuclear weapons, leading to their complete elimination.

The Soviet Union has already said more than once on the highest level that it is aiming for military superiority neither on earth nor in space. It is doing everything possible to halt the arms race. But, as Mikhail Gorbachev has said, "if the 'star wars' preparations continue, we will have no choice but to undertake retaliatory measures, not excluding the development and perfection of offensive nuclear weapons." That is why the problem of preventing an arms race is assuming primary importance today. The further development of the military-political situation in the world depends on its solution.

Question: By implementing the "star wars" program, Pentagon strategists are torpedoing the Soviet-American SALT II treaty. In order to justify its actions, the White House is trying to present this program to world opinion as an "answer" to alleged "violations" by the Soviet Union. What is the purpose of this and how will such American actions, violating the terms of SALT II, affect the Geneva talks?

Answer: Any insinuations by the U.S. administration that the Soviet Union is "violating" SALT II are absolutely groundless. The Soviet Union is treating its commitments in a very responsible way and is performing them exactly.

The United States has no proof that the Soviet side is breaking any terms whatsoever. The Americans sometimes reach the point of absurdity in their accusations. They say for example that by carrying out missile tests, the Soviet Union is coding the telemetric data which they consider necessary to control the observance of SALT II. But this is not true. The Soviet Union is not coding the data necessary for such control. We have displayed good will and proposed that the United States give the parameters which it believes should not be coded. The American side has refused. This is the best proof that it is playing at false pretenses.

From the U.S. Administration's assertions it would seem that the Soviet Union possesses a new type of intercontinental ballistic missile, the SS-25. But the White House knows perfectly well that no new type of Soviet strategic missile exists.

The SS-25 is the old SS-13, which was modernized in accordance with the provisions of the SALT II treaty. Washington refers to this missile in order to grant itself the right to build a new strategic missile the "Midgetman", in addition to the MX missile.

The following question arises: Why does Washington resort to thinking up such false accusations? Washington has only one aim in mind; it wishes to justify its militarist policy in the eyes of the public by shifting the blame for the violation of SALT II onto the Soviet Union, whereas in reality the responsibility for the treaty's violation rests with the United States. This is an old trick.

As early as 1981, the present U.S. Administration called the SALT II accord "a grave injustice". It was a constant source of irritation to the White House, because it strengthened the existing strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. Had the White House recognized the necessity of observing the treaty, it would have been unable to voice its theories about Soviet military superiority, which in reality the Soviet Union did not possess and does not possess to this day.

But the United States could not negate the treaty straight away, because that would have meant exposing its true face to the world. That is why the White House also adopted a policy of rejecting those provisions of the agreement which prevented it from carrying out its military programs. In evading the SALT II decisions, the United States leaves behind itself a long trail of outrages. First, the protocol. Consequently a new form of strategic missile came into existence, thousands of cruise missiles, and a serious blow was dealt to SALT II.

Later, the United States ignored articles 12 and 13 of the treaty by deploying medium-range missiles in Europe and by attempting to upset the strategic balance which both sides had undertaken to uphold. The United States does not want to observe the principle of equal security which was contained in the SALT II Treaty and in other Soviet-American documents. Contrary to this principle, new types of strategic weapons are being built by the United States and other provisions of the treaty are also being violated.

All these actions prove that the United States is making a conscious effort to break with SALT II, and perhaps break off the Geneva talks, in the hope that they will be able to blame the Soviet Union for this and then embark on the road of escalating the arms race even further.

At the same time the White House is attempting to undermine the treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile defense systems. The "star wars" program cannot be reconciled with the ABM treaty. There is no alternative; it is either one or the other. The SDI program is a landmine placed under the treaty. If the United States departs from the ABM treaty, all arms talks will become meaningless; and the process of reducing tension, which was begun thanks to SALT II, will grind to a halt. A critical exacerbation of the situation might follow, and from there to the very worst, the road is but a short one. The authors of "star wars" and their fellow participants in this provocation should not forget this.

KOBYSH HITS U.S. 'PESSIMISM' IN ARMS TALKS

PM240827 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jul 85 p 9

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Observer's Opinion": "Operation 'Pessimism'"]

[Text] THe latest rounds have ended and a break has been announced at the talks taking place in Geneva, as well as those in Stockholm and Vienna. In many countries parliaments have broken up for the summer recess. Vacation time has come. A time when people can relax and be released from their day-to-day concerns.

But very few people -- in our country or over there, on the other side -- feel free from worry if they pick a newspaper or watch the television news. The situation in the world remains tense. It would be very nice to find reassurance in the results of the aforementioned talks. Alas, they have not yielded any perceptible results or given any hope of changes for the better.

Particular concern is aroused by the fact that at the Geneva talks, where key questions directly concerning peace and the peoples' security are being discussed, the U.S. delegation is obviously stalling and avoiding discussing the crux of the question. It is avoiding the most important thing -- the quest for an agreement on the same nonmilitarization of space and the renunication of the nuclear arms race.

It is rumored that a big new building is to be built in Geneva for the American delegation. The impression is created that Washington's leaders are planning to hold endless talks there. Or perhaps not endless, but intended to last for the time required for the "star wars" plans to become irreversible. In this connection, it is also noteworthy that official American spokesmen have recently been working hard to prove that the positions of the USSR and the United States at the Geneva talks are so incompatible that there is hardly any chance of reaching an agreement.

The same time can be clearly heard in the remarks of Washington officials concerning the meeting to be held in November, also in Geneva, between M.S. Gorbachev and the U.S. President. A few days ago a White House spokesman spoke frankly of the "comparatively modest aim of the November meeting," and said that the agenda does not include "any concrete agreement in the arms control sphere."

Taken together, all this leads inevitably to the conclusion that people in Washington are not simply expressing doubt as to the success of the current and future talks in Geneva, but are purposely and deliberately sowing pessimism and lack of faith in the possibility of an agreement which would bar the path of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and its spread into space.

In a word, Operation "Pessimism" is under way, backed up by practical actions which hinder the attainment of an accord. What is the reason for the purpose of this operation?

I think it has three main targets.

First. Extreme right-wing forces, who now set the tone in American politics and to a considerable extent rule both the Congress and the majority of Washington government departments. With their pessimism, the administration's leaders are saying to them, as it were: We do not have in mind anything that you would not like, nor will we make any agreements with the Soviets which would hinder the United States from achieving total military superiority.

Second — and this is linked very closely with the first -- the U.S. military-industrial complex; those who get rich from the arms race and feed on chauvinism and war hysteria. The corporations which earn their money from war preparations have already obtained unheard-of profits under R. Reagan's administration. But they await the far bigger revenue which is promised by the implementation of the military programs on a frankly insane scale which are planned by the present Washington Administration. Particular hopes are pinned on the "star wars" program, which, according to U.S. estimates, will cost the taxpayers between several hundreds of billions and a trillion dollars. No room for barriers to the militarization of space here!

And lastly, the third target of Operation "Pessimism," the broad masses of the population, the public in the United States and elsewhere. On the one hand it is being instilled into them that there is virtually no chance of success at the talks, and on the other they are blatantly being prepared, so that they regard the failure or even the wrecking of the talks as the result of an "unconstructive" Soviet position.

The question arises: what is the sense of talks if they are condemned to failure in advance? As far as can be judged, Washington sees the sense of it as a kind of game intended to create the impresson that, come what may, the U.S. authorities are aware of the seriousness of the prevailing situation and are striving to resolve the most acute problems threatening mankind.

Games are games, and when one side, in this case the Soviet Union, makes constructive proposals, while the other, the United States, is content either to ignore them completely or to reject them out of hand, it all becomes clear. So it is quite clear that no propagandist operations, however purposeful or massive, can obscure the crux of the matter.

We are in favor of improving relations with the United States, but the bridge of mutual understanding and cooperation has to be built from both ends. We are in favor of ensuring that during the discussion of problems on whose resolution the very future of mankind depends, there is no room for games, and that a clear understanding exists that time is merciless: It passes, and wasting it on trying to outwit your partner, in our dramatic age, is tantamount to trying to outwit yourself.

SITUATION ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN REVIEWED

PM231431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 85 First Edition p 4

[Article by B. Azanov: "A Ban on Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The elaboration of a convention on banning chemical weapons occupies an important place among the questions under examination at the summer session of the Geneva conference on disarmament. Talks on a convention have been going on now for many years. The UN General Assembly has called for their acceleration on several occasions. What state are they in at the moment?

Why the Talks are at a Standstill

The delegations in Geneva have discussed in detail the broadest spectrum of questions pertaining to the subject of the talks. The general outline of the future convention is emerging. Its purpose is to ban the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the use or transfer of them to anyone. At the same time, the convention will make it incumbent on states to eliminate stocks of these weapons and facilities for their production by a certain date.

The fulfillment of the convention will take place under national and international control, including on-site checks and the setting up of a consultative committee.

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to ensure successful talks. On several occasions it has met other states halfway, both on the questions pertaining to the extent of the ban and on monitoring. Yet the talks have effectively been at a standstill, particularly in the past year.

As in other spheres of arms limitation, the United States is performing a blocking role. Official U.S. statements, including statements made at the highest level, abound in fine words about U.S. dedication to the aim of concluding a convention on banning chemical weapons as soon as possible. But Washington's practical steps do not accord with these fine-sounding declarations.

The talks have now reached the stage where all participants need to conduct a meticulous search for ways of surmounting the differences that have emerged. But the United States is acting in quite a different direction. When it submitted its draft convention in April 1984 -- and it remains the basis of its stance -- the United States introduced another bone of contention in Geneva. Its draft set the talks back and merely led to a deepening of contradictions, especially on questions of monitoring.

Here is an example. At the bilateral Soviet-American talks which were held in 1976-1980 (they were unilaterally broken off by Washington), and then at the conference on disarmament an understanding was reached in principle that in the event of any doubts about observance of the convention, verification "on request" can be carried out on the territory of the "suspect" state. And as a guarantee against invalid requests the relevant state would have the right to forbid the verification, but not without proper explanation. But in its draft convention, the United States put forward the internationally unrealistic demand for compulsory inspections in any place and at any time, even if there are no grounds for suspicion (the so-called "standing invitation to inspection"). This would essentially nullify the agreed principle of verification, "on request."

The "standing invitation" concept envisages total monitoring, but in conditions of general and complete disarmament. It visibly contradicts the generally acknowledged principle of congruity of monitoring and disarmament measures, as laid down in the final document of the UN General Assembly first special session on disarmament (1978). Clearly, the forms and methods of monitoring proposed by the United States will result in disclosure of the military and commercial secrets of participating states which have no connection with questions of production, stockpiling, and storage of chemical weapons, and in disruption of various sectors of industry.

On the other hand, the United States is obviously intending, even when the convention is in force, to maintain an industrial base for the production of chemical weapons, primarily the latest types. It does not accept the Soviet proposal that all production of extremely dangerous ultratoxic, lethal chemicals for authorized purposes should be confined in each state to a single small, specialized facility which would be subject to regular inspection. The United States is fighting for the opportunity to produce such chemicals wherever and in whatever quantities it wishes. It also rejects the USSR's proposal for the total abandonment of the commercial industry production of the chemical compounds which form the basis of the latest nerve gases, in particular binary weapons. But the limitations proposed by the USSR would considerably facilitate monitoring as well as reinforcing the practice of not producing chemical weapons in commercial industry.

Finally, the all-embracing nature of chemical weapons prohibition is not sustained in the U.S. stance: the use of herbicides for military purposes and the use of irritants in armed and other conflicts are placed outside the confines of the convention.

This line contradicts the 1925 Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of asphyxiants, toxic, or other similar agents, and bacteriological means in warfare and is aimed at legitimizing the use of the toxic chemicals to which the United States resorted extensively during the disgraceful war against the peoples of Indochina.

Obviously, the U.S. position did not meet with approval among the talks participants, including some U.S. allies who are justifiably apprehensive about the fate both of their chemical industries and of the talks on banning chemical weapons. But whenever one of their representatives tries to seek real compromises he is invariably silenced by the U.S. envoys.

Washington's New Tricks

Very recently the United States has embarked on a number of tactical maneuvers to create the illusion of a "constructive" U.S. stance at the talks. For example, one recent proposal envisages the following phony compromise: In view of the U.S. reluctance, it should continue producing its own ultratoxic, lethal chemicals without limits, while the Soviet Union and the other countries advocating limits on production for everyone should introduce them just for themselves. It is called "freedom of choice," but it is in fact a brazen bid to obtain one-sided advantages, and the only possible reason for making it is to obstruct the path to an accord.

To all appearances, Washington's strategy and tactics at the talks are in fact providing the propaganda cover for a U.S. chemical rearmament program whose centerpiece is to be the production of new, so-called binary, chemical munitions. The overall number of chemical munitions in U.S. arsenals is to rise sharply as a result of the implementation of the program from 3 million to 5 million units (some people regard even this figure as too low). Evidently U.S. diplomacy has been presented with the task of deadlocking the talks and trying to blame the Soviet Union for it. An old trick.

The other propaganda methods of safeguarding the binary program are not exactly original either. The chief one is the totally played-out "Soviet threat" myth. U.S. figures are spouting slander about an imaginary intention on the part of the USSR to start a chemical war in West Europe. In this connection they "discover" that U.S. stockpiles in the United States and West Europe are "hopelessly obsolete" and can no longer serve as a deterrent. At the same time, it is claimed that the United States' lack of adequate means of chemical "containment" increases the threat of nuclear war, since it may compel Washington to be the first to use nuclear weapons in the initial stages of the conflict. And the production of binary armaments is bound, they say, to have a beneficial effect on the talks and push the USSR toward an accord. In other words, in order to eliminate chemical weapons you have to have more and newer chemical weapons. What crazy logic!

U.S. spokesmen usually extol binary weapons as "safe" weapons which allegedly can be comfortably stored on U.S. territory. Such statements are meant primarily for the West Europeans, many of whom are seriously concerned about the fact that their countries are increasingly becoming repositories for American-made toxic chemical agents which imperil people's lives and health even in peacetime. But it follows from statements by senior U.S. military men, including the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe General B. Rogers, that the intention is to use binary chemical weapons at the very start of hostilities on the European continent in conjunction with nuclear weapons. Nor is it an accident that the United States is trying by hook or by crook to get its NATO allies to agree to improve the bloc's chemical armaments by replacing the stocks of "silent death" housed in West Europe with more modern toxic agents.

As is known, at the end of May the U.S. Senate decided to allocate to the Pentagon large appropriations to prepare for and launch the production of binary weapons. Then the House of Representatives yielded to pressure from the administration and allotted $124.5 million for that purpose in fiscal 1986.

The Peoples' Mounting Alarm

The dangerous U.S. plans to prepare for chemical warfare are causing indignation and resistance on the part of the peoples of many countries, including Europeans. This mood was reflected by a joint political initiative promulgated in June by the SED and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the major opposition party in the FRG, on the question of the creation in Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons. These proposals envisage as the first step the creation of a zone on the territory of the GDR, FRG, and CSSR. Noting the danger posed by the currently existing chemical armaments, both parties expressed anxiety in connection with the new military technical developments in the field which "pose a threat of new dimensions to mankind and make it much harder to achieve an accord on disarmament."

A chemical arms race, which is what Washington is aiming at, would postpone the prospect of the prohibition of chemical weapons, poison the international atmosphere even more, and exacerbate military confrontation as a whole. It is in the interests of the whole of mankind to prevent this course of events. The peoples are demanding that the prohibition of chemical weapons become a reality. But for this to happen it is necessary for all states -- and above all, of course, the United States -- to display a constructive approach in Geneva. The U.S. attempts to use the talks as a cover will not succeed. If one acts on the basis of reason and responsibility for the future, the question of chemical weapons can and must be solved. They must be outlawed by means of a treaty.

NEUTRON WEAPONS CAPABILITIES TERMED 'PROPAGANDA'

PM221430 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jul 85 Second Edition p 5

[Major General (Reserve) F. Gontar article: "Neutron Weapons Again"]

[Text] Items devoted to various aspects of nuclear strategy, specifically the role allocated in it to neutron weapons, have been appearing increasingly frequently in the western press recently. These weapons are presented as the most effective and indispensable "deterrent" deemed "necessary" for inflicting "prestfategic," preemptive [upreditelnyy] nuclear strikes allegedly capable of preventing a "limited" nuclear war from escalating into a universal one.

However, are neutron weapons as harmless and do they cause as "little destruction" as people try to make out?

First and foremost, it must be noted that it is no accident that this time has been chosen for laudatory statements commending the "defensive" qualities of neutron weapons. A kind of conditioning of public opinion is taking place in connection with the fact that, judging by foreign press reports, the Pentagon is making strenuous attempts to secretly transfer to the West European countries the stocks of neutron ammunition accumulated in the United States. Thus, London's THE OBSERVER reported the other day: "In the words of U.S. officials, Britain has secretly agreed to U.S. plans for deploying new nuclear 'neutron bomb-type' artillery shells. These officials are claiming that British ministers are deliberately hiding the details of this agreement from Parliament."

The second reason for the launching of a vociferous campaign in defense of neutron weapons is that the work to create indigenous weapons of this type in France and Britian is drawing to a close. The expediting of work in these countries had been noted since 1981, that is, since the time when the United States embarked on large-scale series production of neutron artillery shells and warheads for its Lance operational-tactical missiles intended for deployment in the West European NATO countries. French Defense Minister C. Hernu stated not so long ago that his country has already tested a neutron bomb and is prepared to embark on its production in the very near future.

The supporters of the deployment and use of neutron weapons state that under European conditions, it is an indispensable means of combating attacking enemy tanks. It is also claimed that these weapons are not only "defensive" but "humanitarian," since they are capable of killing "only enemy soldiers," specifically tank crews, without significantly damaging military equipment, buildings, and other material assets and without affecting one's own civilian population.

It is apposite to recall in this connection that an eminent West German politician once termed the appearance of neutron weapons the fruit of perverted thinking. They are a barbaric means of destroying people, which make no exceptions for military or civilians. And it is no accident that the Pentagon is preparing to use them first and foremost in Europe. They are offensive weapons, weapons of aggression. They are "humanitarian" only in respect to what the capitalist world particularly values -- various types of chattels and real estate.

And the claim of the proponents of the production and use of neutron weapons that they are a more suitable means of nuclear deterrence do not stand up to criticism. The use of these weapons at an early stage of military conflict would inevitabley lead to nuclear escalation. And that is why the arrival of neutron weapons in the arsenals of the West European NATO countries would not strengthen but, on the contrary, undermine their security. The goal which all peace-loving forces on our planet strive for is not the accumulation of more and more new types of nuclear weapons, but their radical reduction until they are entirely eliminated.

MOSCOW VIEWS UN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL CONFERENCE

Condemns Economic Colonialism

LD182144 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] As we have already reported, delegations of the USSR, the GDR, and Poland submitted draft resolutions on the normalization of international economic relations for the consideration of the UN Economic and Social Council session being held in Geneva. Here is the latest news commentary. At the microphone is our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver:

I would like to note, first of all, the fact that the initiative of the socialist countries is very timely. The actions of imperialist powers, their policy of economic diktat and discrimination have inflicted vast damage on normal, mutually beneficial ties between states. It will be sufficient to mention only the most recent events: Washington's attempts to establish the economic blockade of Nicaragua and to take sanctions against the international airports in Beirut and Athens.

I will refresh your memory by saying that the Washington administration tried earlier to impede construction of the Siberia-West Europe gas pipeline, stopping at nothing to impose all sorts of trade bans, even on the NATO allies of the United States. As far as developing countries are concerned, the imperialist, first of all American, policy of lowering prices for raw materials with a simultaneous increase in interest rates has resulted in tremendous debts for these states. In Latin America, $360 billion; in Africa, $170 billion.

Naturally, all this causes the just indignation of peoples and, in quite a number of cases, of governments of many states as well. Demands to put a stop to the economic policy of neocolonialism are close and understandable for the USSR and other socialist countries, who see their friends and equal partners in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress in peoples who have liberated themselves from colonialism. Socialist countries give assistance to the developing countries to help the developing countries strengthen their national economies; they have built about 6,000 major industrial facilities. I note that in India, for example, 80 percent of metallurgic equipment and more than one-half of power engineering equipment is being produced and built at enterprises with the help of the USSR.

At the economic summit that took place in Moscow in June of last year, the CEMA countries spoke in favor of taking efficient decisions that would exclude unequal transactions in trade; that would establish a just, economically well-grounded correlation of prices for raw materials and industrial products; and that would strengthen control over activities of transnational monopolies. Now, at the meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council, the USSR and other socialist states have proposed concrete measures to accelerate the economic decolonization of developing countries and to strengthen international economy security. This is a new, important contribution of the socialist community to the cause of peace and social progress.

Views Africa's Foreign Debt

LD231451 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Geneva July 23 TASS -- The current session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council has started a debate on the critical economic situation in Africa. The session centers on the declaration on the economic situation in the continent, which was adopted in Addis Ababa on July 20 by heads of state and government of the member-countries of the Organisation of African Unity.

Speaking in the debate, representatives of the African, Asian and Latin American countries pointed out the adverse effects on Africa's economy of the heavy burden of the foreign debt, a worsening of the conditions of trade and reduction of export earnings, high interest rates, sharp currency fluctuations and the toughening terms of granting credits. Many speakers stressed that the economic difficulties, through which many African countries are going, are in a large measure the effect of the grim legacy of the colonial epoch.

Yevgeniy Makeyev, the head of the USSR delegation, pointed out that the Soviet Union shares the deep concern of the African countries and of the international community about the critical economic situation in Africa. The USSR, the speaker continued, gives the African countries large-scale and free aid in combating the drought and other natural calamities. Thus the volume of the Soviet economic aid rendered to Ethiopia in connection with the drought, which was calculated according to the U.N. methods, by July 1, 1985, totals 173 million dollars, including the cost of operation of the equipment in connection with the carriage of foodstuffs and industrial goods and population to the areas and from the areas hit by the drought -- 73 million dollars, the supply of foods, building equipment, oil and oil products, other goods -- worth 52 million dollars, the assigning of specialists -- 47 million dollars and rendering medical aid -- one million dollars.

The figures of the volume and character of the USSR's economic cooperation with the African countries gives the lie to the slanderous claims of those who would like to picture things as if the USSR is "indifferent" to the destiny of the African peoples, S.I. [as received] Makeyev said. The Soviet Union will further give, within the limits of its possibilities and in the forms according with our social system and appreciated by the developing states themselves, economic and political support for the efforts of the African countries striving to ensure true economic independence. The USSR will also resolutely oppose the line of preserving Africa as the raw material appendage of the economy of some western countries.

HEATED DEBATE AT UN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI

LD231758 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Nairobi July 23 TASS -- TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov reports:

The duty of all the women is to direct their efforts towards the lessening of international tension and the creation of favourable conditions for the settling of controversial problems by means of talks. This has been stated at the world conference to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: equality, development and peace which is under way by the head of the Belorussian delegation Nina Mazai.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism, as well as the unjust system of international economic relations of which developing countries are the first victims hamper the improvement of international relations and the consolidation of confidence in relations between states, she said.

The conference witnessed heated debate over the draft of the final document -- the U.N. strategy on the improvement of the position of women for the 1986-2000 period. Representatives of the U.S. and some other Western countries are trying to prevent the including in the document of important provisions envisaging the need for the active participation of women in the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament.

A Cuban delegation suggested that the provision denouncing the support by the U.S. of terroristic groupings and the policy of state terrorism be included in the final document. With a view to overthrow the governments which are not to its liking, the U.S. Administration plans assassinations of heads of independent countries, trains and arms terrorists, the Cuban delegate said. A representative of Nicaragua pointed out that Washington was building its relations with other countries from the position of strength, that it had arrogated itself the right to "punish" those who did not agree with its policy. According to a Tanzanian delegate, Washington's actions in Central America are one of the forms of terrorism.

Representatives of 35 U.S. religious organizations sent an appeal to the U.S. delegation urging it not to interfere with the working out of constructive documents determining the future of the women's movement. The U.S. has come to the world conference without having fulfilled many provisions of the U.S. decade for Women, the appeal points out.

Millions of American women are suffering from hunger and poverty. The U.S. Constitution does not guarantee their rights. Social cuts in the U.S. affect, in the first place, the interests of women and children, the document stresses.

Hundreds of participants in the conference chanted "Palestine is an Arab territory", "Israeli invaders, get out of the captured territories", when the floor was given to an emissary of Tel Aviv. In protest against the crimes committed by Israeli invaders against the Arab peoples many delegations left the conference hall.

A statement of 13 women's organizations of France which denounces the nuclear tests carried out by Paris in the Pacific area and the construction in New Caledonia of a base for nuclear submaries has been circulated here. They demanded that the French government immediately stop all the nuclear tests.

TOLKUNOV ADDRESSES EUROPEAN SECURITY MEETING

LD231549 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS -- Acting in the "spirit of Helsinki", the U.S.S.R. will continue to advocate stable, correct relations between states, and unswervingly follow the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, said Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. He delivered a report at a public meeting in Moscow today to mark the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

After the Helsinki conference, Lev Tolkunov went on to say, two parallel processes, as it were, are developing in the European and world politics in general. One is in favor of preserving the "spirit of Helsinki", realizing the provisions of the Final Act, and expanding European political and cultural contacts further. This process is unfolding with the participation of a majority of European states. The other process, started at the initiative of the United States at the threshold of the 1970s and 1980s, is directed toward eroding the positive results of the European forum.

Contradicting obvious facts, Lev Tolkuno continued, imperialist propaganda is trying to convince the public that the root cause of the existing tensions in Europe is alleged violations of human rights in socialist countries, and not NATO's militaristic preparations. With the help of that campaign of calumny the enemies of detente would like to blacken the image of the U.S.S.R., other fraternal countries, to weaken the impression produced by their peaceful policy on public opinion in the West and at the same time distract public attention from the aggressive policy of the United States and its allies, from the violation of elementary civil rights in capitalist countries, primarily the U.S.

"The striving of aggressive elements of the U.S. and NATO to achieve military superiority and thus, acquire a possibility to dictate their will to others undermines the mainstays of peaceful coexistence, contradicts the 'spirit of Helsinki' and puts up new barriers in the way of the CSCE process", Lev Tolkunov stressed. "The Soviet Union stands firmly for reviving the process of detente considering it to be an indispensable transitional period from the situation in which the world literally bends under the brunt of arms to a dependable and comprehensive system of international security".

POSSIBLE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT BETWEEN U,S., PRC

LD231619 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] New York July 23 TASS -- The agreement with the PRC in the sphere of nuclear energy would allow American companies, hungry for new orders, to sell nuclear power plants to China, and give the Chinese wider access to American technology, the NEW YORK TIMES writes today. Commenting on a report of a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State about the possibility of signing an agreement on peaceful uses of nuclear energy with China, the newspaper notes that the terms of agreement will be secret until it is submitted for the Senate's approval. The newspaper notes that the administration pursued the agreement despite its doubts about how to control China's nuclear relations with other countries, notably Pakistan, to which China may have given key information on nuclear weapon design.

TASS ON CIA, USIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST YOUTH FESTIVAL

LD221513 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 22 Jul 85

["Provocateurs Do Not Quiet Down" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS — TASS commentator Aleksey Popov writes: As the Moscow festival draws nearer, the ill-willers to the world forum of youth and students get increasingly restless. There is a vicious anti-festival campaign spiralling in the West, while various secret services and propaganda outfits led by the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency are openly baiting and harassing the festival's delegates and supporters and staging all manner of provocations in a bid to hinder the forthcoming get-together of the world's young people. Plainly intended as a counterweight to the Moscow Forum, all sorts of youth "conferences" and "conventions" are being hastily arranged.

They differ little from the so-called [word indistinct] conference of Free-World Youth, a masquerade stagemanaged in Jamaica last April under a C.I.A. script, which has proved a complete flop. And their tasks are also the same, namely to try and split the international youth movement and pull the attention of young people in different countries away from the Moscow festival and the pressing problems of the times.

The U.S.I.A. and the C.I.A. have, for example, masterminded a "Baltic tribunal" [words indistinct] and freedom Baltic Cruise-85, timed for the Moscow forum. It is there that the C.I.A. is now marshalling its "strike forces" of young and not-so-young spokesmen for reactionary youth emigre organizations, terrorists, die-hard anti-sovieteers and, of course, Zionists.

The sponsors of the Baltic provocation have not found it hard to lure Western newsmen, addicts to cheap sensations, to attend. But they have still found themselves [words indistinct] of more attendees to (?have) the desired number. As it has turned out, even many of those fitting the organizers' "criteria" are not at all itching to [words indistinct] dubious sea ride. So the sponsors have even been compelled to begin distributing tickets to the cruise for free so that to save the situation somewhat.

Anxious to patch up the holes which keep appearing in the anti-festival "front" all the time, in Washington they have decided to use also the "Salvation Army", an international reactionary organization of a "religious and philanthropic kind" which is closely connected with major industrial corporations as well as the C.I.A.

The "army's "First International Youth Convention" has opened in Chicago, with the attending hundreds of youths dressed in G.I.-style uniforms spending the time by talking about "the horrors of communism" in between debates on such issues as "the Christian view of pornography" and "(?personal) evangelism".

CIA Delivering Subversive Literature

LD222102 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 22 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS -- By TASS commentator Alexey Popov: "How can subversive literature be delivered to the Moscow festival"? This is the question with which the CIA and emigre anti-Soviet organizations are now preoccupied. So, they offer tourists and participants in the festival travelling to Moscow to carry some subversive waste paper along. Should it be placed at the bottom of a suitcase or behind the lining? Or, perhaps, half a dozen pamphlets with insulting contents should be stuffed into one's pockets. What is safer? The latter, "pocket" method, according to instructions published back on the eve of the Moscow olympics by the NTS (Popular Labor Union) magazine POSEV, guarantees the "highest" probability of carrying illegal literature across the border. Instructions, however, do not always correspond to the actual state of affairs, which, by the way, CIA agents and NTS emmissaries could see for themselves upon meeting with Moscow customs officials in 1980.

So, the "experts" at literary contraband keep racking their brains trying to figure out which places in the suitcases, travelling bags and details of clothing of their present emmissaries are less vulnerable.

In the meantime, anti-Soviet and anti-festival writings, have already been prepared for shipment to the capital of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students. Hundreds of books and booklets are stacked on the premises of different CIA "funds" and are waiting for their carriers who are recruited from among not very scrupulous young people on tourist groups and delegations. The Soviet preparatory committee has received letters from foreign nationals saying that the CIA-controlled and payrolled anti-Soviet publishing house "Road to Life" jointly with the New York representative of POSEV is getting ready to ship its "works" to the Moscow youth forum with specialized American tourist groups.

Before leaving for Moscow the book-carrying tourists should collect subversive literature at the following address: St. Seraphim Foundation, Inc., 322 West 108 Manhattan, New York, N.Y. 10025, USA, where it is now stored in the basement.

Future book smugglers have undoubtedly already received instructions corresponding to the occasion and not very original, too. In case the illegal "wares" are carried through the customs they should be distributed among the participants in the Moscow festival, and also left on subway trains, in telephone booths, at halls of theaters, at stadiums -- in any public place. In other words, this venom mixed with malice and slander should be spread everywhere.

It is well known that Soviet people are hospitable and cordial hosts. But this concerns only those who come to the Soviet Union with good intentions. Customs officials have more than once caught provocateurs of different shades. Book-carriers for the CIA may rest assured -- this will be the case this time, too. The host country of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students will do everything to shield from provocations intended by reactionary quarters of the West envoys of youth of this planet who will gather in Moscow to find a common language and to come out in favor of peace and progress.

POSNER VIEWS DEVELOPMENTS IN POLOVCHAK CASE

LD231401 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Jul 85

[Text] The United States immigration officials violated the rights of the parents of Vladimir Polovchak by refusing to let them take their son back to the Soviet Union 3 years ago. So ruled the federal judge last Thursday. Vladimir Posner comments:

[Posner] The Polovchak case began 5 years ago when 12-year-old Vladimir's parents, who had gone to live in the U.S. on the invitation of their relatives, decided they preferred living in the Soviet Union. They chose to go back. This as you understand flew in the face of anti-Soviet mythology according to which each and every Soviet citizen dreams of being spirited away to the U.S. of A. where freedom and democracy are commodities that sell a dime a dozen. The idea of a Soviet wanting to go back was unacceptable, especially to the nationalistic groups pledged to making Soviets defect. Since they could not stop the Polovchaks they decided to even the score by enticing their 12-year-old son to stay. Vladimir, called Walter in America, was offered some goodies -- a 10-gear bike I believe -- provided he said he wanted to stay in America. And thus it all began.

To any normal, unbiased person, it was and is perfectly clear that a child of that age is not fit to make that kind of decision. But this has nothing to do with normal, much less unbiased people. On the contrary, bias was the prevailing, dominant factor. Having confidence in your sense of fair play let me ask you this: Had the boy and his parents been French, British, Japanese, Turkish -- how long would it have taken to have him return to them? A day? Two? Well, exactly as long as it would have taken to find him. But since this related to Soviets, the whole picture took on an entirely different dimension. Such a dimension in fact that it involved two United States Presidents. First the boy was granted political asylum by Jimmy Carter and later he received permanent residency status from President Reagan. Once again I ask: Had this not involved Soviets, would two United States presidents have allowed themselves to become involved? Not only involved but with being at risk of being embroiled in a violation of human rights? Because that is exactly what they did. These two presidents both of whom have made an issue about the so-called violation of human rights in the Soviet Union, violated the rights of Anna and Mikhail Polovchak with the greatest of ease.

It took 5 years of litigation before senior U.S. District Judge Thomas McMillen ruled that and I quote, a minor child of tender years does not have the right to control his own destiny, end of quote, and that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service had denied due process of law to the Polovchaks by forbidding them to take their son back home without giving him a hearing. Five years. Judge McMillen is obviously an honest man and he is to be complimented for having dared to face what will follow: He will be hounded by certain quarters as a Soviet stooge, he will receive hate mail and threatening calls. That is the right of those who don't like his decision, the right to freedom of expression. But will Judge McMillen's decision bring Vladimir Polovchak back home? To say the least that is dubious. For the decusion will be fought tooth and nail by those who induced the 12-year-old to stay. As attorney Julian Kulas put it: he will go home over my dead body. The state of Mr Kulas' body does not interest me in the least; what does is the state of human rights as understood by a substantial segment of the American body politic. How is it possible to champion human rights and sermonize on the subject while tactly or openly violating human rights when that is considered to be politically expedient? Obviously as the Polovchak case shows it is very possible indeed. What is impossible is to believe these gentlemen actually care about human rights.

TASS SAYS U.S. POLICY, TERRORISM SYNONYMOUS

LD231435 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS -- By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik.

Many peoples have a fable about a thief who, seeking to evade retribution and direct justice along the wrong track, shouts louder than others "stop thief".

The fable comes to one's mind when reading in newspapers or hearing over radio about Washington's "firm determination" to put an end to international terrorism. The United States, to the drumbeat of these declarations, commits plunder wherever possible. The notions "terrorism" and "American policy" are becoming synonymous in the international lexicon for ever more people.

The Central Intelligence Agency, the chief instrument in the administration's subversive operations abroad, plays a leading role in the implementation of the White House's current course. Its powers and the sphere of activity have been substantially expended.

It is after the Republicans returned to power in 1980 that Washington lifted practically all restrictions on the terrorist activity of American special services, imposed in the light of the "Vietnam syndrome" and scandalous exposures of sleazy machinations by Langley generals in Angola.

Although the CIA's annual budget is record high and the number of its employees doubled in the past five years, the House of Representatives of U.S. Congress approved the other day a bill providing for substantially greater allocations for covert actions. The CIA is passing through the phase of the largest buildup of its might since the times of the Vietnam war.

What guides Washington on the world arena is the "might is right" principle. It seeks to exonerate its immoral policy by "arguments" typical of imperialism -- fighting Communism, national liberation movements and forces of progress in general. However, the more actively state-sponsored terrorism is being applied by the United States, the more obvious it is becoming that, as the U.S. NEWS and WORLD REPORT magazine admitted, America has an enemy other than left-wing insurgents. This enemy is the administration's policy with regard to developing countries which automatically generates anti-American sentiments.

Never before have American sentiments been so rampant as lately. Suffice it to recall the "Sudan spring" events, rallies all over Angola following the abrogation of the Clark Amendment under the slogans "joint efforts against American interference", scandalous exposures of CIA activity in Ghana, which forced tens of thousands of factory and office workers and students to take to the streets with demands "Hands off Africa", "American spies, get out."

The 21st session of the OAU assembly, held to the accompaniment of the these developments, accurately reflected the popular mood in the continent. Open critique of Washington and the chief accomplice in its terrorist policy -- racist-ruled South Africa, keynoted the speeches by most delegates to the forum in the Ethiopian capital. Many in Addis Ababa accused the United States of trying to recolonize the dark continent with the help of contract assassinations, subversion and terrorist actions.

COMMENTARY ON ASIA SOCIETY MEETING IN WASHINGTON

LD231819 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Public attention in the countries of Asia has been attracted by the speeches of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger and his assistant, Armitage, at a conference of the Asis Society held in Washington. A commentary from the latest news: at the microphone is political observer Vladimir Tsvetov:

Both U.S. military figures devoted their speeches to security on the Asian continent and the threat to security there. In the 30-minute speech by Armitage, the word "security" was to be heard 22 times. He said the word "threat" 25 times. This is by no means idle mathematics. I want to show with what persistence the leaders of the Pentagon attempted to convince the audience that is is the United States that guarantees the security of that part of the world by resisting the threat from the Soviet Union.

In what specific way does the United States guarantee security there? Here is what Armitage said: The U.S. strategy in the Pacific basin relies on forward-based land and air forces and a powerful naval presence. And so, in Washington's language, security and the U.S. military presence are synonymous expressions. I shall remind radio-listeners of the visit to the Soviet Union by Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India. The guest and his hosts both spoke about security in Asia. Comrade Gorbachev proposed on that occasion that every permanent member of the UN Security Council should undertake a commitment in relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America strictly to observe the principles of noninterference and nonuse of force or the threat of force, and not drag them into military blocks. At the same time, the USSR and India underscored their desire to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Moreover, the Soviet Union came out with an appeal for thought to be given to a general, all-round approach to the problems of security in Asia, having in mind both bilateral talks and multilateral consultations and even the convening in due course of an all-Asian forum following the example of the CSCE.

If the United States is so afraid of the Soviet threat that at the conference of the Asia Society Weinberger and Armitage mentined it at the rate of once every minute, why should Washington not take the Soviet Union at its word or agree with its initiatives? The desire to do this, however, is not apparent on the part of the U.S. Administration. You see, it sees the threat as being precisely in these initiatives: it sees a threat to its own expansionist plans. One of the present U.S. ideologues has said cynically: you can lie and swindle, but you must not get caught. Weinberger and Armitage did not observe this rule. They were caught manipulating concepts and distorting facts. One must assume that there will now be a lot more people in Asian cuntries who have understood -- and I use the favorite term of the Pentagon leaders -- that security, American-style, poses a serious threat to Asia.

COMMENTARY VIEWS U.S. STAND ON RSA UNREST

LD232040 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Reports of mass repressions and together with them reports of continuous anti-racialist demonstrations are coming from the Republic of South Africa where a state of emergency was declared last weekend.

Political observer Aleksandr Zholkver comments on these reports:

It is possible from reports in the Western press and statements of state and public figures of the RSA itself to draw a conclusion: the African majority, driven to despair by political and social discrimination, have risen to the struggle for their liberation.

Pretoria's racist rulers once again, as they did a quarter of a century ago, responded with the introduction of the state of emergency which completely unties the hands of the police and troops. In the seething African ghettoes people with black skin, including adolescents and children, are being shot point-blank. However, these atrocities are only having the opposite effect. They are giving rise to storms of anger and ever growing numbers of fighters for freedom.

By the way, this was admitted by a U.S. television journalist who in his reportage from the RSA noted significantly that the fact that members of the Black population are increasingly and frequently having to bury their fellow-countrymen cannot but arouse anger.

In this situation, taking account of the mood of the world public and also of the fact that there is also a black population in the United States, Washington also felt constrained to make an official statement about the events in the RSA. A White House representative called the apartheid system contemptible. But how is Washington's contempt expressed specifically? Perhaps it will finally agree to sanctions being adopted against Pretoria as has long been demanded by the UNO? No, nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the same White House representative rejected even the more than modest wishes on this from the U.S. Congress, itself.

The reasons for such stubbornness on Washington's part are also sufficiently and frankly spelled out. Sanctions against Pretoria, you see, would harm U.S. companies which are known to have thousands of millions of dollars invested in the RSA. Well then, it could not be more clearly put, as they say.

Thus, one can readily understand one of the U.S. Negro leaders, Frank Chapman, when he states: the hands of the Washington administration are also stained with the blood of Africans killed by the authorities of the apartheid state. It only remains for me to add that Chapman, himself, has just been arrested in New York together with 20 other participants in a demonstration against apartheid. It seems that a state of emergency has not yet been imposed in New York. But racialism and police repressions, as we can see, are flourishing there too, in spite of all the talk about human rights.

More on South Africa, Clark Amendment

LD232330 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Two events almost coincided in time: the racist South African regime declared a state of emergency in the country, thus escalating even further its armed attacks on its own Black population and on neighboring states, and in the meantime the American Congress voted for the cancellation of the Clark Amendment, that did not allow it to grant aid to any country or an organization which planned military operations in Angola. More from our observer Vladislav Kozyakov:

The Clark Amendment was adopted and made a law in the United States almost 10 years ago, in 1976. It reflected the Americans' concern over the possibility that their country might be drawn into military activities in the south of the African continent. After all, to give support to UNITA bands meant to give backing to South Africa's puppets and maintain cooperation with the racists.

At the time that policy line caused legitimate apprehensions of many Americans, including Congress members. As it turned out shortly afterwards those apprehensions were not unfounded. In May 1978 John Stockwell, the former man in charge of a special CIA group for Angola, who had retired a year before, told the public how the then administration had been trying to fool the public and the Congress. He revealed many details of how the CIA had decided, sidestepping the Congress, to use American advisors in military operations in Angola and of how the CIA was involved in joint operations of South African troops and of the splinter groupings. When Senator Dick Clark arrived in the south of the African continent, the CIA officials were instructed to arrange things so that the Senator could learn and see what the CIA wanted him to learn and see.

The American public found out all this much later, after the Clark amendment had already been approved by the Congress, but the information which was made public only confirmed that the measures approved at the time were very timely. For a certain period of time the American people were safeguarded from the reckless alliance with the South African racists and from the involvement in military operation in southern Africa. The current American policy however, gives no such guarantees. Despite statements by administration officials claiming that they're acting as certain go-betweens in southern Africa [as heard] Washington actually encourages the South African apartheid regime to commit atrocities against its own people and attack neighboring states.

What was carried out earlier in the form of secret CIA operations today is termed as the policy of constructive engagement in relation to South Africa. The fact that cooperation between the two countries has come out into the open does not lessen in the least its dangerous nature. The American alliance with the racists causes the aversion that is as big as the one that was once caused by CIA secret operations.

TASS CITES U.S., UK DEFENSE SECRETARIES ON SDI

LD230906 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Washington July 23 TASS -- A spokesman for the Pentagon made a statement on Monday on the results of the talks held here between U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and British Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine. In the course of the talks they examined issues in connection with the implementation of the American "star wars" programme and Britain's possible participation in its implementation.

As follows from a statement by the spokesman for the U.S. Defense Department, "there are no obstacles" to drawing Britain into participation in the "Strategic Defence Initiative" of the USA.

Addressing a press-conference held after the meeting, Michael Heseltine stressed in his turn that he had discussed with Caspar Weinberger, in particular, the question of the development and exchange of the latest technology. He pointed out that Britain can make a "considerable contribution" to the creation of an anti-ballistic missile defence system.

USSR-JAPAN TRADE, FINANCIAL TALKS BEGIN

LD231445 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS -- Negotiations opened here today between the Soviet Union and Japan on conclusion of a new agreement on trade and payment for 1986-1990.

This is the first stage of Soviet-Japanese negotiations on this question. A TASS correspondent has been told at the Foreign Trade Ministry of the USSR. The sides are to discuss the text of a new five-year agreement and a letter on the exchange of consumer goods between Far Eastern areas of the USSR and Japan and also to specify the list of commodities for reciprocal deliveries both in the sphere of usual, and coastal trade. [sentence as received]

VOSS, KOVALENKO RETURN TO MOSCOW FROM JAPAN

LD191721 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS -- A.E. Voss, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of The USSR Supreme Soviet, and I.I. Kovalenko, deputy head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who visited Japan at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, have returned to Moscow today.

DPRK, ROK MEET TO PLAN PARLIAMENTARY TALKS

LD231656 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the DPRK and ROK on preparations for holding parliamentary talks between the North and South took place today in Panmunjom. During the meeting the sides exchanged opinions about the form of the interparliamentary talks, the proposed composition of the delegations, the location of the talks to be held in Pyongyang and Seoul by turns, and about other procedural issues.

BASIS FOR PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER'S U.S. VISIT

BK201359 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Aleksandr Korolev commentary]

[Text] The agenda for Pakistan Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan's current visit to the United States includes discussion of a few items, concentrating on military cooperation. Even in his statement at the Islamabad airport prior to his departure, the Pakistani foreign minister stated that military cooperation would be the central issue of his discussions with American leaders. He said they will review the pace of implementation of the agreement under which the United States has been providing economic and military assistance worth $3.2 billion to Pakistan. They will also examine the possibility of future cooperation after 1987. About this future cooperation, it has been learned that a new 6-year program for $6 billion worth of military and financial assistance to Pakistan is being formulated and will become operational in 1987.

The mention of American aid worth of billions of dollars naturally raises the question as to why Washington is displaying such generosity. You might recall that some time ago Pakistan was going through a financial crisis, but neither Washington nor anyone else offered this kind of assistance at that time. The reason was that since those days Pakistan has brought about remarkable changes in its policies which displeased the United States. It was during this time that Pakistan withdrew from military blocs, SEATO and CENTO, and joined the Nonaligned Movement. Having seen this, Washington had become [words indistinct] for this Asian nation. This page from history now forces one to view with doubt the sincerity of Washington politicians and those circles which are once again trying to demonstrate their generosity, and if stated in very clear terms, it becomes evident that Washington's policy in this regard does not possess even a tinge of sincerity.

But sincerity in itself is not as important as Washington's self interests which are given topmost place in U.S. policies. It is no secret that Washington again remembered Pakistan in 1980 and started offering assistance and then in 1981 began implementing a 6-year military and economic aid program worth $3.2 billion.

Even today, the Pakistani newspapers display these staggering figures whose brightness makes the [words indistinct] reasons for this assistance invisible. But, these reasons are as much selfish as criminal. One has to accept the American press view that when the United States needed an immediate Pakistani springboard for waging an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan, it resumed its aid to Pakistan and eventually got the springboard. Statistics show that about 120 camps have been set up in Pakistani territory along the border with Afghanistan where CIA agents provide training to groups of mercenaries who are later sent into Afghanistan. Besides this, armed Pakistani troops have been carrying out military activities against the neighboring Islamic country for some time. The Washington politicians are happy that Pakistan has now been turned into a base for direct aggression against Afghanistan. Therefore, it is not astonishing that Washington is ready to reward the Pakistani leadership so generously for its services.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the issue of future American aid to Pakistan being currently discussed by Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan with Washington. Administration representatives is also being viewed in the perspective of the so-called Afghan problem. But the reason for Washington's generosity is not limited to aforementioned things only. Actually, the United States wants to make use of its strategic partner, Pakistan, on a much greater scale.

This is aimed at further strengthening bilateral cooperation in the field of military strategy and at making Pakistan's national interests subservient to Washington's global political interests. For example, it is known that Washington is establishing bases for its Rapid Deployment Force in Pakistan and wants to install medium-range nuclear missiles there. It is obvious that if such designs are implemented, Pakistan will turn into a base for Washington's highly dangerousaggressive preparations. Washington's designs are above all dangerous for Pakistan itself and a number of Pakistani statesmen are now expressing serious concern in this regard. As we see, the result of Washington's generous aid and Pakistan's willingness to accept it on American terms became evident when Islamabad provided extensive concessions to Washington in the field of foreign policy whose dangerous designs are still perceptible.

Now during Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan's talks with Washington officials, the question of new American military and economic aid to Pakistan has been raised. In this context, a new question arises as to what new concessions and services will Washington require in return for its billions of dollars. This question requries serious thought and contemplation.

U.S. AMBASSADOR CITED ON PAKISTANI POLICIES

LD201304 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0705 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow, 20 July (TASS) -- SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA said in a rejoinder that a strange interview was published a few days ago in the Pakistani weekly HURMAT. A journalist and a certain official were dicussing the so-called "Afghan problem." In particular one of the replies ran as follows: "The Pakistani leadership does not rely on retaliatory strikes and is striving to achieve a settlement of the problem through talks and does not wish a further deterioration of the situation. The assistance which the United States is ready to give to Pakistan is designed to strengthen its Air Force, ground defenses and radar system and is of defensive significance."

Who is making such an authoritative statement on behalf of the Pakistani leadership? Can it be General-President Ziaul Haq himself? Not at all. The above phrases have been uttered by none other than Dean Hinton, U.S. ambassador to Pakistan. This is not the first time that this gentleman has been explaining the interanal policies of Pakistan, violating the commonly accepted norms of diplomatic etiquette.

He is making insulting attacks against the opposition forces protesting against the antinational policies of the military regime of Islamabad and is egging on the local authorities to step up confrontation against neighboring states.

But strictly speaking,what is unusual in this? Washington's ambassador feels right at home in Islamabad. Sometimes one can, as they do in Texas or California, stick one's feet up on the table. After all, it is well known that he who pays can call the tune, and, if he so desires, even play it himself. And the money paid out to the Islamabad regime by the Washington administration is not small: $3.2 billion, of which almost $2 billion has already been received and the rest of which will get there during this or the next fiscal year. The lavish dollar flow will not dry up in future, etiher. In 1987 a new 6-year program of American assistance to Pakistan to the tune of about $6 billion will be coming into force.

NETHERLANDS PRESSURED BY U.S. TO ACCEPT MISSILES

PM221307 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 85 First Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov article under the rubric "Our Commentary": "Erecting a Palisade"]

[Text] The Hague -- As though to match the weather, statements at the height of summer by certain statesmen of the NATO countries frequently contain very warm assurances of the North Atlanticists' readiness for some "positive steps" in the matter of curbing the nuclear missile race in Europe. Perhaps people in the alliance have finally realized that the endless buildup of nuclear arms on the European continent and the deployment of new American medium-range missiles there merely create an additional threat to the security of the peoples living there? Alas, there has been no such "reappraisal of values" in the North Atlantic bloc. The facts indicate the reverse: The United States and its most bellicose allies are continuing at an accelerated pace to turn West Europe into a launch site for American Pershing II and cruise missiles, first- strike weapons.

At the same time the accelerated deployment of more and more medium-range missiles is accompanied by increasing pressure on the Netherlands. After Belgium, whose government has even so let American cruise missiles into the country, this is the "last bastion" resisting a similar Pentagon demand. As is known, the Netherlands Government has not yet given its final consent to the deployment of 48 cruise missiles envisaged in the 1979 NATO decision. The very broad protest movement which developed against nuclear missile escalation carried decisive weight here.

Millions of this small country's inhabitants participate in antimissile demonstrations. Numerous regions and major cities in the Netherlands have been declared nuclear-free zones. The leading opposition parties come out against the American "cruise death." And there is no unity of opinion on this question in the ruling coalition. Assessing the situation, the Netherlands realize that new missiles will in no way bring additional security but, on the contrary, will increase the threat of catastrophe.

In this connection NATO is bending over backward to make the Netherlands accept the weapons. NATO and American emissaries have stepped up their visits here. U.S. Vice President G. Bush, who recently visited The Hague, and envoys lower in rank have unanimously called for "Atlantic solidarity to be shown." Indoctrination is carried out by very different methods: from arm twisting at NATO sessions to the dissemination of malicious fabrications about an "increasing Soviet threat."

The pressure on the Netherlands and the attempt to drag one more country into the missile adventure totally demolish NATO's assurances of its desire to curb the nuclear arms race. Erection of a missile palisade, with whose help the United States hopes not only to achieve military superiority in Europe but also to turn its allies into the Pentagon's nuclear hostages, is continuing behind a screen of "love of peace."

U.S. EUROPEAN ALLIES UNSURE OF SDI PARTICIPATION

LD232253 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Here is a commentary by Nikolay Borin about the visit to Washington by Britain's defense secretary, Michael Heseltine, devoted mainly to Britain's participation in the "star wars" program.

Washington's "star wars" program has already been discussed by a recent meeting of the seven members of the West European Union. However, this meeting was inconclusive. The West European Union was unable to work out a common approach to the American plans to develop the strike space weapon. And Mr Heseltine's statement to a reporter that Britain is not interested in being just a subcontractor for the Pentagon's project apparently reflects the disunity of the members of the West European Union.

What lies behind this guarded approach of Washington's West European allies to its "star wars" program? (Actually, the major West European firms have received no orders for this project, nor have they been invited to take part in the auctions [as heard], although Washington is pressurizing the West European governments, including the British Government, via private firms. But, as the French weekly [as heard] LIBERATION notes, the American pie in the sky is still beyond reach. The share of this highly profitable scheme for the West European monopolies will hardly come to more than five percent of its total value, calculated for a period of 5 years. Economically, however, this American scheme will cost the West Europeans a pretty penny. The high technology, developed by the American firms within the framework of the scheme, will enable them to dominate the world market and will ensure their leadership in the new generations of electronic computers. And, into the bargain, one can expect to see in the near future a brain drain of West European specialists to the United States and a reorientation of the industrial cooperation vis-a-vis the United States that Western Europe is in need of. Above all, the American high schools and some American companies will be the first to cash in on the results of this "star wars" program.

On the eve of his visit to London, the head of the project, General Abrahamson, said that Washington's allies would be allowed to take part only in unclassified research work and, in addition to this, those British and other scientists [words indistinct] to take part in the research work would have to be subjected to a humiliating screening by the American secret services. And finally, America's allies would develop only separate components of the space weapon and they may not even know the purpose of these components.

In this manner, by offering the West Europeans a flimsy commercial deal, the gentlemen in Washington aim at making use of the technological achievements of the West European countries. And lastly, not only will the West European firms suffer from this flimsy deal, but the "star wars" project will in the final analysis lead to more unemployment, to more cuts in social security spending and to more unproductive military spending on space programs.

DECISIONS BY FRG'S KOHL ROOT OF PUBLIC DISFAVOR

LD231313 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 17 Jul 85

[From the "World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] On 1 October 1982, when sending a congratulatory telegram to his friend Helmut Kohl in connection with his election to the post of chancellor of the FRG, Kurt Biedenkopf, the CDU chairman of North Rhine-Westphalia, added the following phrase: Dear Helmut, you won't find the going easy.

This phrase has turned out to have been prophetic. The chancellor is now indeed having a difficult time. Both public opinion polls and articles in the press show that his popularity in the country is waning. At present only 31 percent, in other words less than one-third of the West German population believe that the chancellor is living up to their expectations.

What is happening to Kohl?, the FRANKFURTHER RUNDSCHAU asks and writes further: After all, this is the same Kohl which the Christian Democrats at first elected chairman of the party, then nominated as a candidate to the post of chancellor and in the end offered the opportunity to become head of government. He couldn't have changed all of a sudden. The simplest explanation is that the chancellor has found himself in the category of losers. But it is of course not only a matter of his personality. Not only the chancellor but the entire party, which has selected an incorrect political concept of running the country, is to blame for the government's fallen popularity, the paper continues.

What does Kohl's loss consist of? If one speaks of internal problems, then first of all there are economic difficulties, among them primarily the question of unemployment, which is not decreasing but even growing. During the time that the present government came to power there were 1,920,000 jobless. Already after a year, this had become 2,041,000. People older than 18 who are deprived of a job now make up almost 5 percent of the active population. Every third one of them remains without a job for a year and longer, and forecasts regarding this do not leave hope for an improvement of the situation. Dissatisfaction is being caused by the pensions policy and by the ruin of farms, small and medium-sized enterprises, which has become aggravated. In the economy, the chancellor and his government are more and more often unsuccessful in making ends meet.

His foreign policy decisions, too, are provoking no less dissatisfaction. In response to Washington's persuasions, Kohl hastened to react with approval to the American "star wars" program. On the one hand, this far from reflected the view of most of the country's population; the chancellor just did not have time, strictly speaking, to find out this view, having hastened to support the Reagan project. On the other hand, such a rash decision has complicated relations with neighboring France, which has misgivings about this idea from across the ocean and has proposed, as you know, its counter project, Eureka.

The paper notes that now in West Germany, just as in the entire world, people are understanding more and more the need for a cessation of the arms race.

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG has claimed that even Foreign Minister Genscher is also inclined towards relaxation of tension. It is true that now and then there was a harsh bellow: What is being meant? This voice belonged to CSU leader Strauss. It is not in vain that Strauss is becoming irritable. Recently a spokesman of the German Social Democratic Party stated that at present most of the voters would prefer a Social Democrat in the chancellor's seat. And such a thing can, of course, hardly suit Strauss. As is being reported, the German Socialist Democratic Party has started drawing up a new party program which will be adopted in 1988. The paper notes that it will supposedly contain demands for a cessation of the arms race; for a so-called Europeanization of the policy of security; and of joint security with the socialist countries. Already now, preparations for the 1988 election campaign are beginning in a leisurely fashion.

BALTIC TRIBUNAL A 'PROVOCATION' FOR THE USSR

LD230913 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1430 GMT 21 Jul 85

[Text] Next week the meeting of the so-called Baltic Tribunal will open in Copenhagen. It is held under the auspices of the USIA and CIA. Our observer, Aleksandr Bisonov, writes:

The forthcoming 10th anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act does not arouse similar feelings in all people. For most soundly-thinking politicians this anniversary is topical, because at present it is necessary to recall the era of detente and the possibilities of East-West detente.

But in the Western world there is an organization which supposes that the Helsinki anniversary may arouse undesirable questions about who hindered the continuation of the process of detente. For certain circles these questions are at present extremely inopportune, especially as new American missiles are being deployed in Western Europe and American space war plans are being developed.

Among the organizations which are not interested in the spirit and letter of the Helsinki document is the American CIA. This and other centers of ideological subversion support the propaganda organization. This is how we can define the tasks of the Baltic Tribunal planned for next week. The meeting will be held in the Scandinavia Hotel in Copenhagen, and its participants will carry out a so-called Baltic freedom cruise.

The USIA and CIA at present do not play the Baltic card by accident. In 1982 the U.S. State Department distributed to U.S. Government offices a so-called review of the situation in the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union. It was based on the usual lies published daily by the Western right-wing press. These dealt with the violation of human rights in the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, an attack on national languages, and so on. The authors of the document concerned did not say a word about the fact that in Tallinn the inhabitants converse freely in Estonian, that in Lithuania church services take place freely in Lithuanian, that in all the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union papers and books are published in the national languages and that the education system works on this principle.

The purpose of the review was not to seek the truth. It was a sign of efforts to revive the Baltic emigre centers operating in the West European countries, above all in Scandinavia. There are altogether about 30 such centers. The Committee of Solidarity With the East European Countries, functioning in Sweden, includes about 800 people, and the World Federation of Free Letts includes only 14. The representatives of the reactionary emigre centers like to speak strong words about the fight for freedom. A couple of years ago SVENSKA DAGBLADET published an interview with one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet emigre organization of the Baltic republics, in which he said directly: Real freedom will come only if the West scorches the East with nuclear weapons, in other words, freedom will come after the third world war.

It is not difficult to realize that beyond the ocean there are forces to whom these people and their ideas seem very reliable. It is on such freedom-fighters that those, who play the trump card of the Baltic republics, base their calculations. It is for such fighters that the CIA agents arrange intensive conferences following the 1982 signal from the U.S. State Department.

The first touchstone was the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, which opened last year. In a coordination meeting of the leaders of the Baltic centers in West European countries and the CIA, held before the opening of the conference, the CIA stated outright: Our efforts in Stockholm must be directed to the convening of an alternative conference, a conference on human rights in the Soviet Union in accordance with the program for democracy and public diplomacy approved in the United States. During the Stockholm conference the members of the Baltic centers tried to create the necessary sound effects and to hamper the work of the conference. But this did not succeed.

Now it was decided to resort to a new form of action, the Baltic Tribunal and the Baltic freedom cruise. The right-wing press is advertizing these events as the initiatives of the free emigre centers by modestly remaining silent about the real initiators and organizers of this fuss. As regards those eyewitness participants in the tribunal, they are only ordinary executors of the operation planned at CIA headquarters in Langley. Among them are former criminals, for instance Sekalis and Vahtra. Two other intended eyewitnesses are unable to attend for reasons of delicacy.

They took part recently in a real trial as criminals. Roosna and Lepajoe, as representatives of the Swedish emigre center, were caught by the Finnish Police robbing a jeweler's shop and bank. Such activities apparently are part of the program for freedom fighting.

Such are the executors. Corresponding tasks are set also for the tribunal and the cruise, to achieve as many sound effects as possible, with the intention of drawing the public's attention away from the anniversary festivities of the Helsinki Final Act, which will take place on 1 August, and the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, which will begin in Moscow on 27 July. The Baltic events cannot be called anything other than a provocation. It is regrettable if this is not understood by those who support such provocative activities on the Scandianavian peninsula.

FURTHER REPEAL OF MARTIAL LAW IN TURKEY REPORTED

PM230837 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 85 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Filippov under the general heading: "From Various Latitudes"]

[Text] Ankara, 20 Jul -- The government decision to repeal martial law, introduced nearly 5 years ago, in a further four Turkish provinces, including the capital, Ankara, has come into force. The strict martial law regime has thus now ceased to operate in 50 of the country's 67 provinces. Military tirbunals have been abolished in these provinces and power has been handed over to the local civilian administration.

The provinces and cities where martial law is still in operation include Istanbul, with a population of over 5 million. It is reported that martial law will soon gradually be repealed throughout Turkey because the political situation as a whole has been normalized and the reasons for the military coming to power in September 1980 have been eliminated.

SYRIAN OFFICERS VISIT, MEET WITH LIZICHEV

PM240900 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 85 Second Edition p 3

["Visit by Syrian Political Workers" -- KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] A delegation of leading political training officers from the Syrian Armed Forces headed by Division General (D. Dzhugni), chief of the Syrian Army political directorate, was in the Soviet Union in the second half of July at the invitation of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation members familiarized themselves with the Soviet Army and Navy main political directorate's experience in working to organize political education work among the personnel. The delegation also visited the V.I. Lenin military political academy, and familiarized themselves with servicemen's combat training, life, and daily routine and the forms and methods of political education work in one of the Baltic military district units.

The Syrian guests visited the V.I. Lenin mausoleum and laid flowers at the tomb of the unknown soldier by the Kremlin wall. They visited historical and revolutionary monuments in Moscow, Riga, and Leningrad.

The Syrian delegation members were received by Col Gen A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy main political directorate. In the course of their conversation, in which Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, participated, an exchange of views on questions of interest to the two sides took place. A mutual aspiration to strengthen ties between the two friendly armies' political organs was expressed.

The delegation has left the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW SOIREE CELEBRATES EGYPTIAN NATIONAL DAY

LD231443 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1030 GMT 23 Jul 85

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A public soiree took place in Moscow devoted to the national holiday of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Revolution Day. Those who spoke noted that the July revolution of 1952, which opened up a new era in Egyptian life, had put the country on the path of independent development. The meeting stressed that the revolution changed the course of history in the area, giving rise to the national liberation movement of other peoples. The attempts by the United States to establish its dominance over the Middle East, for which it makes use of Israel, is opposed by the growing liberation movement.

Basyuni, the ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the Soviet Union, in his address to the meeting expressed great appreciation for the position of the USSR in the question of a settlement of the situation in the Middle East and the establishment of a just and stable peace in that area. [Video shows meeting taking place in hall with Soviet and Arab guests; Soviet speaker and Basyuni shown in closeup as they speak. The Soviet and Egyptian flags stand crossed behind the table. A poster reads: Long live Soviet-Egyptian friendship!]

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ON AL-NASIR LEGACY IN EGYPT

PM240812 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jul 85 First Edition p 3

[G. Musayelyan, Yu. Zinin article: "The Hope of Millions; Today Is the National Day of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Revolution Day"]

[Text] On the square near Cairo's central railroad station stands a huge statue of Pharaoh Ramses II. Scientists and specialists from Egypt and other Arab countries have done everything possible to save from destruction this unique monument, a symbol of ancient might. The granite monument lay in the desert for many thousands of years, but nonetheless was well preserved. However, in recent years, exposed to the smoke and exhaust fumes that poison the capital's atmosphere, it began to crumble rapidly.

The story of the statue can be taken as symbol of present-day Egypt. In terms of its cultural, historic, and economic significance this state always formed the heart of the Arab world. For many years the country was rightly regarded as the flagship and bulwark of the anti-imperialist movement in the Near East. However, as a result of Al-Sadat's overtly antipeople, treacherous policy, the country's leadership departed from the movement's avowed course. As a result, Egypt ended up on the other side of the barricades.

Yet it was Cairo's star which brightly lit the path to freedom and independence for Near and Middle East countries. It rose on the morning of 23 July 1952 when a proud voice announced on the radio: "The darkest period in our history, characterized by corruption and instability, has ended." The "free officers" led at the time by Lieutenant Colonel Jamal Abd al-Nasir, military academy lecturer and son of a post office clerk, had seized power. This was an anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community countries have always supported the Egyptian people's struggle against old and new colonialists, imperialist interventions, and Zionist aggression and for the strengthening of national independence and social progress. J. A. Nasir regarded them as loyal allies and a reliable support.

After Al-Nasir's death, the separate Camp David deal split the Arab world, intensified the penetration of the U.S. military into the region, encouraged secret reactionary plots, reinforced Tel Aviv's continuing occupation and annexation of Arab territories, and led to the bloody tragedy in Lebanon. And the Egyptian president's words uttered more than 15 years ago sound very topical and prophetic: "The problem of the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression is by no means limited to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai. It is much wider: Will we remain an independent sovereign state, or will we become part of a sphere of influence... the question lies not only in the need to resolve the Near East problem. The question is how, and how honestly it will be resolved. An honest resolution of this problem means our dignity, our future, our destiny."

There are many people in the West now who claim and hope that the time of President al-Nasir has sunk into oblivion. But is this really so?

This is what we talked about with A.A. Manaf, prominent Egyptian publicist, chief editor of the journal AL-MAWQIF AL- ARABI, and owner of a publishing house under the same name.

As I was born and grew up in the countryside, our interlocutor says, I have always respected the work of the fellahin. I am familiar with their concerns and sorrows.

After all, everything that has been created in Egypt during the many centuries of its history, the culture and civilization of the Nile Valley, are ultimately due to the hard work of the simple peasants. Pharaohs came and went, dynasties succeeded each other, but the Egyptian fellah was ever present. His toil-hardened hands provided the food and drink for the civil servants and the soldiers, for the builders of the pyramids, and the scientists. Incidentally, the term "fellah" is synonymous with "prosperity and success."

For this reason, Manaf emphasizes, questions of land, water, and land ownership have always been pressing issues in Egyptian society's life. This is why the agrarian reform proclaimed and implemented under President al-Nasir was greeted with hope by millions of rural workers and simultaneously became the target of criticism and attacks on the part of the feudalists, compradors, and other hangers-on. Questions of land tenure and ownership continue to feature as pressing issues now. The "open-door" policy has led to the emergence of middlemen and speculators.

Prominent scientists, economists, and university lecturers frequently contribute to the journal AL-MAWQIF AL-'ARABI. Their articles discuss the economic problems of present-day Egypt, ways of overcoming the legacy of the past, of Al-Sadat's policy, and the role of the state and the private sector. The authors ponder how the country could be freed from the shackles of dependence on the West, uphold Egypt's progressive gains under Al-Nasir, level sharp criticism against the Near East policy of the United States and Israel, and wage a struggle against the consequences of the Camp David deal.

The journal was founded in 1977 and was closed down on more than one occasion. A.A. Manaf was persecuted and in 1981 he was imprisoned. After his release from jail, he went on a trip to the USSR during which he also visited the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. On his return home, Manaf published a number of articles. In them he gave a truthful account of our country and of his encounters with Soviet people.

The Egyptian revolution, Manaf says, caused profound reverberations in the Arab world. Under its influence the process of the liberation of peoples was accelerated. After long years of struggle, the Algerian people won their independence, British soldiers departed from the south of the Arabian peninsula, the monarchies in Iraq and North Yemen collapsed, a number of Arab regimes announced that they would develop along the socialist path, and Egypt began to play a positive role in Africa.

One of the most important achievements of that period was the establishment of relations and multifaceted cooperation with the socialist states and above all the Soviet Union. It made a weighty contribution to the cause of our country's national development, the strengthening of its material foundations, and the modernization of the people's entire life and culture. With Soviet assistance, dozens of the most important national economic projects were built in Egypt, whole sectors and production capacities were created, and the country's economic and defense potential increased sharply.

Today, celebrating the anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, A.A. Manaf emphasizes in conclusion, we, the champions of Al-Nasir's course and legacy in Egypt, are summoning people to the defense and restoration of everything valuable and positive that was achieved during his rule. It is the duty of all patriots now, when the Arab nation is going through a difficult stage in its development, to step up resistance to the imperialialist tricks and intrigues. It is important to spare no effort to strengthen relations and cooperation between the Arabs and their loyal and true friend, the Soviet Union.

It is as yet difficult to fully assess the processes which are taking place in Egypt now. They are not unequivocal. But one thing is beyond question: interest in the revolutionary past, in the events of that distant July which turned Egypt into the banner of freedom for the entire Arab world, is intensifying in the country.

LE MATIN DETAILS SOVIET, ISRAELI ENVOYS' TALK

PM231101 Paris LE MATIN in French 20-21 Jul 85 pp 6, 7

[Israel correspondent Shalom Cohen dispatch: "Gorbachev Sets the Tone]

[Excerpt] A sensational meeting in Paris between the Soviet and Israeli ambassadors could herald a major change in relations between the two countries that were broken off in 1967 following the 6-Day war. It also means that Moscow does not intend to allow the Near East peace process to be conducted under Washington's auspices alone.

The secret meeting took place last Tuesday in Paris at the home of Daniel Barenboim, pianist and conductor, at the request of Ambassador Yuriy Vorontsov. It lasted more than 2 hours, during which the latter asked his counterpart, Ovadia Sofer, to convey to Jerusalem the proposal for a comprehensive agreement between the two countries.

This is not the first meeting between Israeli and Soviet diplomats in recent years. They have usually met by chance at diplomatic receptions. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir twice had talks with Andrey Gromyko in New York while attending the UN General Assembly. Last June, on the 45th anniversary of the allied victory over Nazi Germany, President Hayim Herzog sent a congratulations message to the Soviet president stating that the Jewish people would never forget the Soviet people's heroic contribution to the destruction of Nazism. The message was published in PRAVDA, which was a nice surprise for Jerusalem. But these contacts never went further than a simple exchange of views which, moreover, were no secret and remained unchanged.

Sofer and Vorontsov had spoken briefly at the funeral of Marc Chagall. The Soviet Union proposed then that the two men should meet again "for more serious talks." Sofer informed Jerusalem of the Soviet ambassador's offer and made a lunch date at a Paris restaurant. But before the appointed date, Vorontsov called to suggest a more discreet meeting. The apartment of Daniel Barenboim, conductor of the Paris Orchestra, was then suggested and accepted.

Tuesday's meeting marks a turning point, because this time the Soviet representative had a specific proposal. First, with regard to the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, which has virtually stopped for more than 4 years. They could again receive permission to leave the USSR on two conditions: that Israel ends the anti-Soviet propaganda it is putting out in Europe and America, and that it guarantees that the Jews will settle exclusively in Israel. Israel's agreement on this point will be easy to obtain.

Vorontsov, who revealed to Sofer that he is a candidate for the post of Soviet ambassador to Washington, then raised the possibility of a resumption of diplomatic relations between his country and Israel. "Relations were broken off following the occupation of the Arab territories," the Soviet ambassador stated, "and you should do something about that if you want to reestablish them.

There must be progress on the Golan question." The start of negotiations with Syria would enable the Soviet Union to reopen its embassy in Tel Aviv. According to the report sent to Jerusalem, Vorontsov stated: "We will not oppose part of the Golan Heights' remaining in Israel's hands if this is agreed in the framework of negotiations with Syria."

Ambassador Sofer asked whether it was pure coincidence that his counterpart did not mention the West Bank, and his interlocutor apparently replied: "No, it is not a coincidence."

Whatever the facts, the 1967 break is apparently now regarded by Moscow as a serious mistake, a rash emotional reaction that seriously damaged Soviet interests. The Kremlin is still convinced that the only way of making progress in the diplomatic process in the Near East is through an international conference, with Soviet participation. "My country cannot accept negotiations with U.S. participation alone," the ambassador stressed. He reiterated the Soviet pledge on Israel's existence, while expressing his anxiety about the deadlock in the peace process.

Sofer immediately sent a detailed report to Jerusalem. Its content delighted the Israeli leaders, but they were not really surprised by the Soviet proposal on freedom of emigration for Jews. Kremlinologists in Jerusalem predicted a probable improvement in relations with the USSR following Mikhail Gorbachev's election. Last week during a meeting with the Canadian Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress and an advocate of a moderate policy, the prime minister said: "You can tell Moscow that if the Soviet Union reestablished diplomatic relations with Israel and showed a real desire to promote the peace process in the Near East, it could of course play its rightful part as a superpower in that process."

COMMENTARY QUESTIONS U.S. OBJECTIVE IN MIDDLE EAST

LD210407 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 20 Jul 85

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program by Aleksey Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] The Western press nowadays is very actively discussing the possibility of a meeting between U.S. officials and a joint Jordanian and Palestinian delegation and the possible results of such a meeting. In Washington, they have been screening the nominees for membership in this delegation. Washington will afterward present Tel Aviv with a list of the candidates. Tel Aviv will also scrutinize it carefully in an effort on the part of the U.S. and Israeli strategic allies to reach complete agreement on every delegation member.

It is clear that the process itself is regarded as a violation of the sanctity of all international laws. For instance, what would the United States say if a state or a national liberation movement decided on the choice of nominees for a U.S. talks delegation, confining the choice to the state's or movement's wishes and inclinations? There is even more to this particular case. In the end, it is important to answer a major question. Why are they playing this game of a joint delegation whose composition will be pro-U.S. and pro-Israeli? Is this activity in the interest of establishing peace in the Middle East and upholding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs? If so, why choose the delegation's members with such precision? One would add that there are relevant, clear UN resolutions, resolutions that pave the way to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

We believe that the issue is this: This new action of the United States in the Middle East has nothing in common with a comprehensive settlement in this area. This action seeks to realize the simple objective of the U.S. and Israeli allies, namely to legalize the results of the Israeli aggression and to broaden U.S. political and military positions by removing one of the major obstacles -- the Palestinian issue-- through appearing to be doing something for peace. In other words, we are seeing a new onslaught on comprehensive peace in the Middle East area.

It was not by accident that confrontation states like Syria, which directly confronts Israeli aggression, and some other Arab states have adopted a negative attitude toward the new action of the U.S.-Israeli alliance. Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad in a recent speech strongly criticized Israel's expansionist and antipeace policy as doing its utmost to undermine the positions of the Arabs. The Syrian president said that only an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all sides concerned will be the real road to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

U.S. TO USE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE IN LEBANON

LD222347 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 22 Jul 85

[Text] Israeli troops on Sunday carried out a punitive raid in southern Lebanon. Viktor Olin has been following the events:

The inhabitants of Qabrikha village in south Lebanon were woken up at dawn by explosions and fire as an Israeli column, supported by helicopters, began what was described as an operation against terrorists. Several people were killed or wounded. As the raid went on, two neighboring villages, Haris and Kafra came under machine gun and artillery fire. Both punitive operations were in so-called security zone, in fact annexed by Israel, which refutes the claims about the Isreali withdrawal from Lebanon. The zone, several dozen kilometers wide, is still under Israeli control. It is manned by the separatists of the so-called south Lebanon army, formed trained and equipped by Israel. Hundreds of Israeli troops and numerous secret service agents are there too. The punitive operation against Qabrikha village has shown that Israel continues to be the real master in south Lebanon.

The Israeli control over the area is designed not only to keep Lebanon at gunpoint but also to intimidate other Arab countries. It has been ever more evident that Israel has converted Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole into some kind of a testing range to practice methods of suppressing national liberation movements and dictate terms to other nations. The so-called international terrorism has been invented to support such a policy theoretically. The Israelis invaded Lebanon in 1982 on the pretext of fighting what they called Palestinian terrorism. In reality, the aggression resulted in massacres of civilians, both Lebanese and Palestinians and the destruction of homes. Israel employed military hardware it had received from the United States, its strategic ally, for instance cluster and suction bombs, napalm and war gases.

However, the invasion of Lebanon has not brought the results Israel expected. The Palestinian Arabs have not been exterminated and Lebanon's desire to pursue an independent policy is as strong as before. For that reason, Israel has started using another tactic, that of punitive operations, air raids and sabotage.

There's been evidence that the United States is going to use the Israeli experience in that field. Recent publications say the United States Defense Department has recommended air attacks on targets in other countries, punitive raids by armed groups and political assassinations with the help of American troops. The methods Israel is practicing in Lebanon are going to be used as tools of United States Government policy too. The core of the American-Israeli strategic alliance is cooperation in terrorism directed against other nations. There's a real threat that the methods Israel has been using in Lebanon will be employed by Washington in other trouble spots.

IRANIAN OFFICIAL 'EXTREMELY' SATISFIED WITH VISIT

NC231212 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 22 Jul 85

[Remarks by 'Ali Naqi Khamushi, chairman of the Islamic Republic's Chamber of Commerce, Mines and Industries, prior to his delegation's departure from the Soviet Union; time and place not specified -- recorded]

[Text] In our various meetings with officials of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as will as with the deputy minister of foreign trade and with the deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, it was very obvious that the Soviet Union's economic circles are eager to do their best to consolidate and expand economic relations with their neighbor Iran. It is very obvious to us that good trade relations with a vast country such as the Soviet Union is an extremely good opportunity as far as the export of traditional and industrial products to the vast Soviet market is concerned. It will enable us to take effective steps to [words indistinct] and to move toward economic self-sufficiency. On the other hand, in view of the Soviet Union's advanced technology and the great variety of its capital goods and the fact that we are a developing country, we should take advantage of these possibilities as much as possible. In view of our proximity, it will be very economical for us to get a great part of the Soviet products we need directly through our northern border. Therefore, our belief is that if problems emerge occasionally between our two countries as a result of political differences, both countries should strive to overcome these differences. Officials of the two countries -- especially economic officials -- should pave the way to facilitate economic and trade relations to the benefit of both countries.

My assessment of this visit is that we are extremely satisfied with the results of this trip. I can perhaps say that we obtained the best and most favorable results that we had in mind. By best results, I mean that the most concrete result that we wanted to obtain from this was to exchange views and to become acquainted with our counterparts in the Soviet Union, as well as to become acquainted with our friends' views first-hand. What we had heard about the Soviet Union and what our friends in the Soviet Union had heard about us was from a distance and often did not conform to the truth. However, talking face to face gave us the opportunity to see the truth, to be able to make sounder political and economic judgements, and to understand the facts.

ORTEGA RECEIVES SOVIET DELEGATION ON ANNIVERSARY

PM231135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 85 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation Received"]

[Text] Managua, 22 Jul -- Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has received an official Soviet delegation headed by N.A. Petrovich, chairman of a USSR state committee, which is in Managua in connection with the celebrations of the sixth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist people's revolution.

During the talks there was an exchange of opinions on the international situation, the situation in Central America and around Nicaragua, and also questions of bilateral relations. The escalation of aggressive U.S. actions in Central America was resolutely condemned and it was stressed that the Washington administration's new hostile acts against Nicaragua considerably exacerbate the situation in the region.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the state of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations, as well as the readiness to continue to develop them on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs.

D. Ortega gave a high assessment of the USSR's consistent foreign policy course, its peace initiatives, and its line in favor of a just political settlement in Central America and in support of the Nicaraguan people's sovereign rights. He expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its solidarity with and support for Nicaragua.

The Soviet delegation stressed the importance of a peaceful solution to Central America's problems by the region's states themselves, without outside interference, and wished the Nicaraguan people successes in the defense of their motherland and the resolution of socioeconomic tasks.

CONTADORA GROUP ADOPTS PEACE PLANS

LD230918 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Text] Managua, July 23, TASS -- The conference of the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group countries has ended its work with the adoption of concrete measures to invigorate the quest for a political settlement of problems in the region. The meeting took place during two days on the Panama island from which the group derives its name.

As was reported by the ANN news agency, at a press conference which was held on the island, the foreign ministers of Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia noted that the conference had decided to send, to all Central American countries, representatives of the group for consultations with a view of the final approval of the act on peace in the region. The participants in the conference called upon the United States and Nicaragua to resume negotiations in Manzanillo (Mexico), which were unilaterally interrupted by the Washington administration. They proposed that Nicaragua and Costa Rica should start early in August a dialogue with a view of liquidating tension on the frontier between these two countris.

SHEVARDNADZE 6 JULY SPEECH TO GEORGIAN CP PLENUM

PM231415 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on speech delivered by E.A. Shevardnadze to Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 6 July Plenum: "Speech by Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze"]

[Text] Dear comrades, You will already be aware of a great deal of what I have to say to you. You will know that a CPSU Central Commitee plenum was held on 1 July and that the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, then ran for 2 days immediately afterwards. You will also be well aware of the decisions, taken by the plenum and session, including those on organizational questions.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has also examined an organizational question today. Comrade B.V. Nikolskiy has delivered a report on it. And I should like to thank you, Boris Vasilyevich, wholeheartedly for your warm and cordial words of congratulation and for your good and sincere wishes. I sense that all that has been said about me is shared by the assembly, and that is especially agreeable and precious to me.

I should like to say frankly that I did not mount this rostrum without a sense of emotion. And that is understandable. There is a complex interplay of feelings present here.

On the one hand, there is an awareness of the very great responsibility for the enormous trust placed in me by the party, its Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; at the same time, there is a sense of infinite gratitude for this trust.

I should like to say to my party comrades directly that I am well aware of the great honor accorded me. What can be greater for a Communist than to be a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo? To work under Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's direct leadership means to undergo great schooling and is also an enormous responsibility.

Great obligations are placed on me as the successor to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, who headed the Foreign Ministry for almost 30 years and whose name, as Mikhail Sergeyevich has said, is widely known both in our country and abroad.

Allow me, comrades, to cordially congratulate on your behalf our new all-union head and wholeheartedly wish him a long life, good robust health, and renewed strength and vigor in his work for the good of our party and all the Soviet people and for the sake of the triumph of communism.

For my part, I can assure you, dear comrades, that I shall be applying all my strength, energy, and knowledge to ensuring that I continue honorably to fulfill my assigned task, although I am well aware that they are still far from adequate. Extra reserves are needed. And it is certainly not the first time that we will have had to search them out. And, incidentally, as you know, when we have searched together and have searched persistently, we have always found the reserves needed.

If I were to approach matters in view of the post that I now occupy, my speech would begin with international problems. But I hope that we will meet again and talk about these problems against the background of an improvement in the international climate. To that end, our party is devoting enormous efforts.

However, just a word or two in this regard. In view of the complex and tense international situation, success in pursuing our party's foreign policy course depends to a great degree on how well we manage to carry out the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum -- not in the distant future but right now -- and how consistently and energetically we set about establishing a healthy moral and psychological climate in the country. Our foreign policy, our country's position in the international arena, and the domestic political situation are closely intertwined and form a single entity. The stronger our economy is, the greater the weight carried by our foreign policy and the more effectively we are able to wage the struggle to ensure peace and avert nuclear catastrophe.

And now I should like to say that alongside the sense of deep gratitude and consciousness of great responsibility, there is another ever-present feeling that is surely humanly understandable. It is by no means simple or easy to take my leave of people who are dear to me, comrades with whom I have long worked, and my party organization, which has reared and educated me and to which I owe literally everything.

And this tinge of sorrow is natural: After all, we have been together so many years, comrades, we have been side by side and shoulder to shoulder, we have experienced both the joys of success and the bitter taste of failure, and there have been mistakes and miscalculations. But the party, like our people, has always generously forgiven us these, putting these shortcomings down to our inexperience and properly valuing our constant readiness to overcome these mistakes, eliminate shortcomings, and make up for insufficiencies.

We should cherish this trust, value it and not abuse it. Also, of course, we should draw conclusions from the shortcomings and mistakes and from what has not been done, fallen short, or been left unfinished, and learn the appropriate lessons from this. The main thing, however, is that we should all of us, together, through our concerted efforts, overcome any difficulties that arise. We must evidently continue to act in this manner.

In this regard, comrades, there is another organizational question to resolve. I am able to report that the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo are recommending, in the light of the opinion of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, its Central Committee members, and, if you like, all the republic's Communists, that Comrade Dzhumber Ilich Patiashvili become first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

All of you present here in this hall, the entire party aktiv, and all working people in the republic know Comrade D.I. Patiashvili well. He has grown before our eyes and developed among us into a major party leader. (Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze acquainted those present with D.I. Patiashvili's biography, which is published in this issue.)

Everyone will certainly fully agree that Comrade D.I. Patiashvili worked with energy and initiative in his post as Central Committee secretary, Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze continued. He is characterized by qualities of principledness, objectivity, exactingness, determination, persistence, and energy in resolving pressing issues, a high level of erudition, ability to think on a large scale, and keen perception of all that is innovative and progressive.

He is a man who is unaffected, accessible, and self-possessed and is distinguished by inner probity, modesty, and devotion to the cause of the party and the people. This has all won him great prestige and respect among our aktiv, all working people, and the entire population of the republic.

Comrade D.I. Patiashvili has a good knowledge of the economy and questions of party organizational and ideological work. He maintains constant contacts with the working class, rural workers, and representatives of science and the creative intelligentsia; he has a good knowledge of the republic's party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol cadres.

Dzhumber Ilich is a first-rate family man.

He has been a member of the Central Committee for almost 15 years and is a member of its bureau; he has been elected a deputy of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet at the last five convocations; and he has been awarded the Orders of Lenin and the October Revolution, two Orders of the Labor Red Banner, and medals.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo I move that Comrade Dzhumber Ilich Patiashvili be elected first secretary of the Georgian Communist party Central Committee. (Comrade D.I. Patiashvili is unanimously elected first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee). This unanimous vote is an indicator of the Communists' absolute trust, Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze stressed.

Allow me, comrades, on your behalf and on behalf of the whole republic party organization, he said, to fervently and cordially congratulate Dzhumber Ilich Patiashvili and wish him good, sound health, joy, great happiness, and new successes in his work as first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and new achievements for the good of our great motherland and the glory of our Leninist party.

I recall today with particular clarity our Georgian Communist Party Central Committee September (1972) Plenum, which laid the foundation for the republic party organization's active struggle to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilist Party Gorkom, which had been adopted a short time earlier and which became a landmark for the entire Georgian Communist Party.

Almost 13 years have now passed, and there are grounds for saying that quite a lot has been done during those years. And we say this without any sense of false modesty.

It was stated at that plenum that we had to focus our main attention on still unresolved tasks and shortcomings in the sphere of the economy an ideology, which were holding up our progress. And the whole Georgian Communist Party has indeed focussed its attention on those tasks and shortcomings in recent years.

I think that it can be said today that all of us Georgian Communists acted correctly when concern for developing the economy as the most interesting and important policy of the party occupied the main place in all our party organization's activity.

We have once again become convinced of the correctness of our course since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum which was permeated by Lenin's idea that policy is a concentrated expression of economics, its generalization, and consummation and at which M.S. Gorbachev said that the development of Soviet society will be decisively determined by qualitative improvements in the economy, its switching over to intensive growth, and to an overall increase of efficiency.

The time that has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum has confirmed us still further in our view that its significance lies not just in its having elaborated and approved a program of preparations for the 27th party congress.

That plenum, like the conference on accelerating scientific and technological progress held subsequently at the CPSU Central Committee, have become milestone events in the party's life and have essentially molded the party's economic strategy for the next few years and for the longer term.

Returning to the initial period of our unyielding and persistent struggle for positive changes in the party organization's life, as well as in the whole republic, I should like to say that, as we know, all things are relative.

I will cite some figures now with which you are all familiar. Let us take just two CPSU Central Committee resolutions: the resolution "On the Tbilisi Georgian Communist Party Gorkom's Organizational and Political Work in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress," adopted at the beginning of 1972, and the resolution "on the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Work in Improving the Management System, Enhancing the Standard of Economic Work, and Making Rational Use of Resources" adopted at the end of 1983.

If we take them and simply compare and contrast them, the changes that have taken place during these years in the economic sphere become immediately quite clear: the gap between average republic indicators and average all-union indicators for socio-economic development has appreciably narrowed and is continuing to do so, and the Georgian SSR's relative lag in this very important sphere is gradually being overcome; the main economic indicators are rising annually and they are becoming increasingly substantial; and the Republic's contribution to the all-union pool is increasing.

If you compare these political documents, you begin to appreciate how much progress we have made. They sharply differ not only in their appraisals, conclusions, and proposals, but also in the tasks set, which have become increasingly weighty, different in quality, if you wish. The targets for the republic's further economic and social development have increased. Quite recently they would have seemed completely unattainable, but now they are quite realistic, and we are all firmly convinced that they will certainly be achieved. And that is an indicator of our growth.

The stages of this growth encompass the large-scale economic experiments that are increasingly spreading through the republic; the universally acknowledged experience of improving the territorial and intersectorial management of Georgia's economy; and the deepening integration of science and production and consistent implementation of the principle of partnership between scientists and practical workers, whose foundation was laid at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on science and technological progress, about which we recently informed the conference at the CPSU Central Committee, where Comrade M.S. Gorbachev delivered a report noting that speeding up scientific and technological progress is a vital requirement and a fundamental question of party economic policy.

We are recalling these past years here now for the prupose of advising Communists, all working people in the republic, and the new Georgian Communist Party Central Committee leadership on how to successfully continue the work that has been started, to expand, deepen, and develop it further, and to seek new successes.

And if we are talking today about continuity, then, as was observed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, continuity in the Leninist sense means ceaseless progress, the pinpointing and resolving of new problems, and the removal of everything that hinders development and growth.

Indispensable progress requires that we improve still further our experience of concrete management of the problems of the economy. And that means never being satisfied with what one has achieved, resting on one's laurels, or being guilty of self-delusion. A sense of dissatisfaction must never leave Communists, particularly our leading cadres. It should always be remembered here that questions of economic building acquire quite exceptional importance for us under modern conditions and that cadres are tempered precisely in the practical work of managing the economy.

We have been acting correctly whenever we have constantly maintained and continue to maintain questions of work with cadres and problems of cadre policy at the center of our attention.

There is every reason for saying that cadre questions have in recent years occupied a decisive place in the activity of the Georgian Communist Party, its Central Committee, Bureau, and Central Committee Secretariat, local party committees, and soviet and economic organs. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's 17th plenum (1979) and 21st Plenum (1985) have been important landmarks in resolving these problems.

You will be well aware of the shortcomings we encountered at the very outset of the struggle to implement the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi party gorkom -- the republic's serious lag in the economic sphere, and those difficulties in the sphere of moral, psychological, and, if you wish, political life, in inter-nation (mezhnatsionalnye) relations,and so forth, which we are still having to contend with today -- all shortcomings determined by the mistakes committed by republic party committees in the selection, placement, and education of cadres.

The efficient system for working with cadres developed in the republic party organization, and the systematic approach to this and other problems we are working on have helped us eliminate shortcomings, major failings, and gross errors in this field.

As we have said before, we have managed to do something in this regard but more still remains to be done in the future, and it is for the Central Committee and its bureau to do it. The most important thing, however, is to constantly improve the prevailing system for work with cadres, since it, like any other system, needs continual improvement, modernization, and being brought into line with present requirements.

These requirements are growing daily, especially at the present time, with regard to preparations for the 27th party congress and the beginning of the report and election campaign in party organizations, during which it will be necessary to form leading party organs, replenish them with fresh manpower, and resolve pressing cadre problems while very strictly observing Leninist principles of selection, placement and education of cadres and stepping up the fighting fitness of party organizations, especially the primary party organizations, by strengthening the party organization's links with the masses which must, in the final analysis, comprehensively help enhance the party's leading role.

It is an imperative of the times that we help increase the activeness and responsibility of Communists and accelerate the demands on exactingness toward leading cadres, and it is also imperative that we enhance the accountability of every party member for his attitude to his public duty, for carrying out party decisions, and, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, "for the honest and pure complexion of the party."

The practice of hearing Communists' reports and approving their party character references, which has begun in the republic's party organization, is serving precisely this aim. This new form of party work is only taking its first steps here, but it is already receiving wide dissemination in various regions and in major party organizations of the country.

This obliges the Georgian Communist Party to continue to develop socialist democracy, firmly establish the principles of socialist self-management, seek to ensure that every Communist is at his post and is responsible to his comrades and the party as a whole, and seek to ensure that the conscience of every Communist is clear in relation to the party. After all, as we know, it is the prestige of each communist and the force of his personal example that makes for the prestige of the party.

It will be correct if the Georgian party organization continues the line of comprehensively developing criticism and self-criticism, being more demanding and exacting toward communists,and waging a resolute struggle against elements of complacency and conceit.

The party requires that no Communist or worker should remain exempt from monitoring and that every checkup should yield a practical benefit and serve the interests of the cause. To achieve this we must constantly inculcate a sense of personal modesty in Communists, combat arrogance and aloofness, energetically establish collegiality and collectivity in leadership, develop in every way creative principles in the work of the Central Committee bureau, and enhance the personal responsibility of every member of it while according greater trust and granting greater independence. Practice shows that when people are shown trust and given independence they open out more fully and discover extra strength and reserves.

It should never be forgotten that people are people, and they are not identical. And, although as Communists we are of like mind, each one of us has his own character, and every one is different. Here, then, we need an individual approach and must show the utmost tact and respect to people, and above all work must be built upon the principles of collegiality and mutual trust. Only then can we be successful.

Clearly we must continue to act in this way.

The party requires that we look with a fresh mind at all shortcomings and negative phenomena and every kind of blunder. The question of strengthening order and discipline is particularly topical now. It is, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, an urgent need of the day. We must above all tighten discipline and step up exactingness among the party aktiv and leading cadres.

Order within the country and peace in the world are what the people expect and demand of the party.

Remember that we began carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi party gorkom by comprehensive tightening of discipline -- plan contractual, production, financial, labor, and executive discipline -- at every level and in every component and by establishing due order, especially public order, everywhere and in everything; we even introduced discipline statistics.

The kinds of changes that have occurred in this sphere in recent years are well known to all of you. Discipline plus democracy have become the two fulcrums of the Georgian Communist Party's activity throughout recent years. We must extend and develop our work experience here, never in any circumstances resting content with what we have achieved.

The party gives notice that if discipline and order are to be strengthened, everyone must concern himself with his work and conscientiously discharge his immediate duties. Every one must be well aware not only of what has to be done but how it should be done and be capable of promptly putting our party's policy into practice. And whoever is unwilling to change and, moreover, holds up the solution of new tasks, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, must get out of the way and stop being a hindrance.

Discipline must be the same for everyone. Likewise the law, and demands must be identical for all. It is essential that we adhere to this rule strictly and absolutely!

The economy, cadre policy, ideology, democracy, and discipline are the elements that form the core of the party organization's entire organizational and political activity. These powerful levers must always be kept in combat readiness and always be in operation and working. And the effectiveness of the party organization's entire political, educational, and ideological work will depend in many respects on whether we achieve this. A lot has been achieved here and it must be consolidated.

Today we have every reason for saying that fervent patriots and true internationalists live and labor in Georgia, patriots and internationalists who know the value of friendship and fraternity among the peoples, the foundation of the strength and toughness of the Soviet socialist system and the might of our motherland.

By their selfless labor for the good of the whole country, their contribution to the assets of all the people, their infinite devotion to the Communist Party and the ideas of Lenin, and their innate sense of international solidarity which, one may say, runs in our people's blood, Soviet Georgia's working people have won deep respect and great prestige among all the Soviet peoples.

And this respect and prestige must be prized, cared for, and cherished.

There are many noteworthy and memorable landmarks in the annals of friendship and fraternity of the Georgian people, the peoples of Soviet Georgia, and the whole of Transcaucasia with all the peoples of the Soviet Union and, in particular, the great Russian people. They include the 60th anniversary of Soviet Georgia, the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR, and especially the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Friendship Treaty between Georgia and Russia, and the 40th anniversary of the great victory. And these are not mere historical dates but dates incised in our memories and hearts.

We have done a lot, a tremendous lot, to strengthen still further our friendly and fraternal bonds with the Russian people, to whom our people, like all the nations and ethnic groups of the country, are indebted for delivering us from the threat of physical destruction and enabling us to embark on the path of economic and cultural revival.

We should always remember that it is thanks to the great Russian people and unity with Russia that Georgia joined the Russian liberation movement and gained access to advanced culture.

We have already said before, and should like to repeat today, that throughout our history, from the Great October Revolution on, Soviet Georgia has invariably been aware of the great Russian people's support and assistance.

Both today and in the future we must instill in people a sense of infinite love and fraternal friendship for the Russian people, continue to improve inter-nation relations, and show constant concern for the economic and sociocultural development of all the peoples living in Soviet Georgia.

Patriotic and internationalist education is a continuous and ongoing process. This work must therefore not slacken even for a moment but must be constantly carried out and be the object of our most urgent concern.

We have built up instructive experience in the military patriotic education of all working people, especially young people, which is carried out on a truly scientific basis by the concerted efforts of the republic party organization and Communists of the Red Banner Transcaucasian military district and border districts. Close and truly creative cooperation on party policy was established there long ago. And these ties must be strengthened in every possible way in the future.

Georgia is a border republic and it is our prime duty to consolidate the friendship and fraternity of the Transcaucasian peoples.

Friendship, mutual aid, and mutual ties among the peoples of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia represent a traditional, historical, time-tested, and genuine fraternity whose roots go back deep into the past. This friendship and fraternity have been tempered and strengthened in joint bloody battles on behalf of freedom, independence, the national revival of our peoples, the revolutionary renewal of the world, the victory of the Great October Revolution, and the social transformation of society, and this friendship and fraternity have blossomed splendidly and are yielding remarkable results.

Much has been done here. We have managed to achieve a lot over recent years and time, and we attach extreme importance to all this and set inestimable store by it. And in this very important and responsible matter we must also make further progress and expand and develop to the utmost economic, scientific, and cultural ties among the peoples of the Transcaucasian republics.

A truly enormous amount of work has bene done in recent years to improve inter-nation relations in our republic itself and we have built up in this matter interesting and, I would say, in many respects unique experience and have overcome quite a number of difficulties.

There is now every justification for proposing the following task: namely, that of turning Georgia into a kind of laboratory for further improving inter-nation relations under the conditions of developed socialist society. All our achievements make it possible for us to set this task.

Throughout these years our main emphasis has been placed and still is placed on young people. It cannot be otherwise. A party of the future cannot but show concern for young people and particular interest in youth problems. And here the slightest slackening, even an insignificant waning of vigilance, and any omissions cost our society very dear.

If we are speaking seriously about the principles of continuity, about continuity from one generation to the next, then our first duty is to show Leninist concern for the education of our young people, for youth -- for the future of our republic and our country, for the future of our people, and for the destiny of socialism and communism.

Comrades, just before my departure from Moscow for Tibilisi I had a conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He spoke very warmly about our republic, its party organization, and our affairs and asked me to convey to all Communists and working people his wishes which were an expression of confidence that the Georgian party organization would continue to work with initiative, creativity, and invention, relying on the positive experience that has been accumulated.

And that means being bolder in exposing shortcomings and bringing the deepest reserves into operation so as to increase Georgia's contribution to the all-union pool and enhance still further the party organization's prestige and standing.

Give pause for thought, comrades: After all, the great trust shown to me, of which I spoke earlier, amounts in essence to a high assessment of the activity of all Communists and working people in Soviet Georgia.

I should today like to enlist your support and, in addition to the words of gratitude and appreciation that I have already expressed, assure the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that, in response to this trust and assessment, the Georgian party organization and all the Communists and the peoples belonging to the republic -- the working class, rural workers, our intelligentsia, women, and Soviet Army servicemen -- will, all of them, without exception, unstintingly devote their efforts, energy, and labor to strengthening the economic and defense might of our Soviet socialist state.

Allow me, dear comrades, in conclusion to express once again to you all my deep gratitude for your cordial greetings and kind, friendly wishes, to offer you all, metaphorically, a fraternal embrace, and to say in parting that all the events of recent days are so special that I cannot put into words what I feel about them. Such words probably do exist, but words are not needed here, what is needed are deeds. And it is by my deeds that I will express my gratitude for the great trust placed in me and for your heartfelt warmth and cordiality, and will express my appreciation to you, the party Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo.

Many thanks, dear friends, for the years full of creative labor spent with you and for your constant and fervent support.

I wish happiness and prosperity to Soviet Georgia within the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples!

(Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by prolonged applause.)

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES AKTIV ON POTI EXPERIMENT

PM230950 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Jun 85 p 1-3

["Speech by Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, at 23 June 1985 Visiting Meeting of the Republic Party-Economic Aktiv in Poti: From Economic Experiment to Daily Economic Practice" -- ZARYA VOSTOKA headline]

[Text] Comrades, in any matter the time comes sooner or later when you feel particularly keenly the need to generalize in detail and ponder accumulated experience, assess achievements, critically probe shortcomings, and -- most importantly -- adjust the course for the future. This is especially topical if the question concerns an economic experiement encompassing a broad spectrum of problems where any innovation that has justified itself yields a tremendous benefit and any oversight is fraught with serious losses.

This stage has come in the activity of the Poti City party organization. Today the question "What is happening in Poti?" is generating excitement throughout our republic in the same way that what happened in Abasha and certain other rural areas of Georgia generated excitement a few years ago. The Poti experiment and the experiment in Tbilisi's Zavodskiy rayon in improving territorial-intersector management of the national economy is finding numerous imitators, and analogous processes are taking place in Tbilisi as a whole and in Kutaisi, Sukhumi, Rustavi, Gori, Zugdidi, Marneuli, Tkvarcheli, and other cities in the republic.

Great attention toward its fate is displayed by the CPSU Central Committee, the country's government, and other union-level organs that actively support our initiatives. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev examined this experiment in detail on the spot, approved the work that has been done, and noted that the experiment requires close attention, study, generalization, and subsequent widespread dissemination. Mikhail Sergeyevich has repeatedly inquired about the progress of the experiment since then. Comrade N.A. Tikhonov gave us very valuable advice and recommendations. Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov and other leaders have visited Poti. We have repeatedly briefed the CPSU Central Committee on this question.

As you will recall, the emergent trends received a generally positive assessment in the party Central Committee resolution "On the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's work to improve the management system, raise the standard of economic work, and make rational use of resources." It was recommended that the search for optimal ways of combining the sector and territorial aspects of management be continued and that the principles of democratic centralism be consistently implemented in leadership of the economy. And now the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a special resolution on the Poti experiment that provides a solid substantiation for all our creative quests and opens good prospects for the future.

We gave much thought to choosing the form of discussion and finally decided to hold a visiting meeting of the republic party and economic aktiv actually on the spot. Incidentally, its work has been structured with a view to ensuring that everyone can see at first hand and feel with his own hands, so to speak, the innovations that have been introduced in the city. Listen to comrades B.D. Gulua [Poti Gorkom first secretary] and V.S. Tikhov [first deputy chairman of Poti Gorispolkom and chief of the territorial-intersector association], discuss questions of interest with them, and personally assess everything. This made the conversation highly graphic and will serve as a good stimulus for establishing requisite creative atmosphere in both Poti and other areas.

We have heard many good, pertinent, and interesting ideas here today, including in the reports by comrades N.A. Chitanava [first deputy chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers] and B.D. Gulua. It is desirable not only to again ponder certain aspects of this important experiement from purely economic positions but also to assess it from the statewide, economy-wide, and social viewpoints and determine its place in all our party organization's organizational and political work. As the experiment expands and gradually becomes part of daily economic practice it is very important to probe individual problems more critically and exactingly and totally objectively. This constitutes a truly party-minded, scientific, Leninist approach.

I.

So what in fact is happening in Poti? Why is the attention of the entire republic and many union-level organs currently focused on this small seaside town?

First and foremost it should be noted that the Poti City party organization's experience in the field of improving territorial-intersector management has become an organic part of all our activity to intensify party leadership in the economy -- activity which has developed actively since the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi Gorkom.

Our aktiv know well the persistence with which the basha method of integrated management of the agroindustrial complex at rayon level was introduced at the time. It made it possible to uncover enormous reserves for combining sector and territorial management and was developed by other rayons and extended to the republic as a whole. And now an analogous structure has been created throughout our country taking other republics experience into account.

It must be added that the reserves for improving management of the agroindustrial complex have still not been exhausted. As a logical continuation of the abasha method, a unified system for managing the agroindustrial complex has been formed on a republic-wide scale, a state committee for agricultural production has been organized on the basis of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the state committee for production equipment for agriculture, and work in this direction is continuing.

At the same time, as the unified system for planning and managing the agroindustrial complex improved, it became increasingly obvious that the forms and methods of leadership of industry, other sectors of the economy, and ultimately the region's entire national economic complex required substantial updating. Of course this task is much more complex since in industry, for example, there is a mechanism that has developed down the years, many enterprises are tied to union-level departments, and specialization and production sharing are highly developed. A large number of people, experienced leaders, had to be persuaded of the need for profound structural changes, and very weighty arguments were needed.

And our comrades found such arguments. First, the Poti experiment is in line with our party's general demands to broaden the democratic foundations of management and increase local soviets' role and responsibility for the comprehensive socioeconomic development of regions. It makes it possible to better combine the sector and territorial aspects of running the economy and the interests of centralization and local initiative, to overcome manifestations of departmentalism and parochialism, and to link together economic and social questions and resolve them on an integrated basis. Thus the experiment in Poti is of great political import and great social and general economic significance.

On the other hand, all these processes are underpinned by a specific and effective mechanism. The territorial-intersector association created under the gorispolkom has been given the powers of a regional organ of economic management. Even earlier, when we began republic-wide management by establishing, as you will recall, 17 basic indicators of economic and social development, we were convinced that an analogous approach was also extremely necessary at regional level and that a corresponding economic mechanism was needed: the efforts of party organs alone were manifestly insufficient. The poti association, which now keeps track of over 100 different socioeconomic, financial, and economic indicators, is something quite different.

At the 17th Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on management problems we particularly stressed that the management component that had been created was a financially autonomous organ and that the fundamental source of its existence was the so-called additional benefit obtained from improving enterprises' economic activity and optimally resolving intersector problems. Some 10 percent of the planned free residue of member enterprises' profits and 50 percent of any above-plan residue is transferred to the city association's centralized funds. And profit, as is known, is a general indicator reflecting the quality of economic management, which is why it was no coincidence that it was profit that we chose as the basis. This mechanism made it possible to manage many parameters of economic activity by economic rather than administrative methods -- on the basis of the mutual interest of both the association itself and the enterprises. They have an equal interest in obtaining both planned and additional profit. I consider that the Poti and other comrades should not deviate from this principle.

We are dwelling on this mechanism once again because we are convinced that it can and must serve as the optimal economic base for expanding the territorial-intersector method of management. In any other case the association that would be created would be components. We did not restrict comrades and tried to change some elements of the system, but every time we were persuaded of the Poti scheme's advantages. Zavodskiy Rayon has also come up with certain innovations that require further refining, particularly in light of the requirements of the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution on the City of Poti. A very interesting and convincing report on this was delivered by Zavodskiy Association Chairman Comrade Z.O. Dzhavakhishvili.

The receipt of profit stimulates the growth of all quantitative and qualitative indicators, ensures a completely different approach by all management components, and makes it possible to efficiently mobilize a pretty substantial territorial management apparatus and orient it toward increasing labor productivity in every way, cutting prime costs, and reducing unproductive losses and other production costs. Comrades have already cited a considerable number of specific facts testifying to the benefits of the association that has been created. Let us convince ourselves of this once again on the basis of specific data.

During the first 4 years of the 11th 5-year plan, industrial production in Poti increased almost 41 percent, while growth rates exceeded the plan indicator by 35 points and the average republic indicator by 18.9 points. And now the people of Poti have fulfilled the 5-year plan target. The entire increase in output has been obtained through intensification. Labor productivity in industry has increased 41 percent, which is almost 32 points higher than the plan target. Last year R3.2 million were obtained from reducing output prime costs, and remember this is a small city even by the republic's standards. In comparison with 1980 the proportion of total city industrial production in the top quality category has increased from 8.5 to 12 percent. Socialist pledges for saving the most important types of resources are being successfully resolved; last year total savings exceeded R1 million. In 1982-1984 the volume of output produced from production waste and also local raw materials increased 50 percent.

In a word, Poti is being transformed in reality into a region with a dynamically and comprehensively developing economy, a city of waste-free production. Intersector waste processing facilities are being created. Transportation and material and technical supply problems and many social questions have begun to be resolved more purposefully. Food supplies to the city's population are improving. Consumer goods production is increasing. In the last 2 years alone consumer goods production has increased 19 percent, with the volume of above-plan products reaching R22 million. Enterprises belonging to the Territorial-Intersector Association produce consumer goods worth R6.5 per wage fund Ruble, whereas the figure for the republic as a whole is no more than R2. Workers' average wages have also increased considerably.

These are the kind of reserves opened up by making skillful use of financially autonomous levers and combining statewide interests with economic autonomy! Let me cite the following figure: Compared to 1981, when the experiment began, the city enterprises' profit plan had almost quadrupled last year, and the targets for this indicator are being constantly overfulfilled.

The very quality of planning and management has also improved, including in the sector context. Previously most ministries sometimes had simply no time for certain enterprises, and then party organs were compelled to concern themselves with many questions.

There are a considerable number of party workers in this hall, and they will confirm how many troubles arise in staffing some of our major plants with cadres, to take just one example. The association takes responsibility for everything, constantly concerns itself in detail with the problems of all the enterprises, seeks to uncover reserves, and draws up aggregate plans. This is particularly important in view of the fact that we are currently setting the republic the task of elaborating state economic and social development plans for all regions and exerting a more purposeful and comprehensive influence on the solution of all problems in the territorial context. And this is being done competently and skillfully.

Flexibility in management is particularly necessary in complex and, I would say, critical situations. And such situations also arise. In the first quarter of the year the Poti Ocean Fishing Administration encountered enormous difficulties because of a lack of anchovy, processing of which accounts for around 10 percent of the city's total commodity output and influences the entire republic's performance indicators. There was a shortfall in the anchovy catch of over 25,000 metric tons.

A very unusual phenomenon. But we know that even this did not catch the association unprepared. Additional reserves for increasing production were sought at enterprises and organizations, and production of above-plan output totaling R5 million was secured. Admittedly the disparity still reached R12 million. The situation that emerged, of course, adversely affected fulfillment of the plan targets for profit and labor productivity and also other quantitative and qualitative indicators.

It was under precisely these difficult conditions that the advantages of joint efforts by territorial and sector management organs were graphically revealed. In conjunction with the Union Ministry of the Fish Industry, the republic Gosplan and Gossnab, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Ministry of Procurement, the State Committee for the Tea Industry, the Georgian Main Administration for Water Resources Construction, and the Ministry of Construction expeditiously sought out additional potential for increasing production and mapped out effective measures to commission ahead of schedule new capacities at the city tea concentrate combine.

As the party Gorkom and Goripolkom assure us, this will make it possible to ensure in the first half-year that the economy will reach the planned rate of industrial production growth and also to fulfill all other targets and adopted socialist pledges. A firm foundation will be thereby created for fulfilling the current year's plans.

II.

It was no mere coincidence that Poti was chosen as the object for the experiment at the time. Despite its relative smallness, over 70 enterprises and organizations subordinate to 30 different ministries and departments are concentrated in the city. In addition, this was a place where comrades had displayed an unconcealed interest in innovations, and there was confidence that they would cope with the prescribed tasks and create an atmosphere of living creativity.

We were not mistaken in our suppositions and calculations. Now at the new stage when this work has embraced larger industrial centers in the republic, the creative quests that have begun are assuming the most fundamental significance, and the role of the Poti experiment is not only not declining but, on the contrary, increasing. Poti remains an important experimental site for us. And it is necessary to advance more boldly and improve the management model that has been created. And for this, comrades, it is time to assess what has been done more self-critically and not conceal the shortcomings, so that others do not repeat them.

It would be impossible and incorrect not to mention today that, despite the measures being taken, serious shortcomings are discernible in the activity of individual enterprises and organizations in Poti and also in other cities now covered by the experiment. There are instances of overstatement and misrepresentation of actual performance, there are laggard enterprises, and in some places there is a dire financial situation. All is not well in construction, the services sphere, and so forth. It is simply infuriating when you encounter shortcomings of this kind. I wish to warn yet again that we must not close our eyes to these shortcomings. It is very important to analyze them expeditiously and in depth and draw conclusions. There must be no letup or complacency.

Thus, we have repeatedly noted that the people of Poti have begun to concern themselves more specifically with questions of money circulation and to seek a better balance between the population's money incomes and expenditure. In particular, the cash receipts [Kassovyy] plan was fulfilled by 104.3 percent in 1983. Yet last year the figure was only 96.2 percent. The situation in terms of trade organizations' proceeds deteriorated, and above-plan banknote supply increased and exceeded R2 million.

Since the beginning of this year, unfortunately, the number of defaults has been growing and the shortage of enterprises' and organizations' own circulating capital has been increasing. We are far from thinking that some kind of critical situation has arisen, of course, and we are also aware of the objective factors mentioned earlier. Nevertheless some important positions have been lost and prompt attention must be drawn to this, especially since we wish the people of Poti to be a model for the organization of financial and economic activity. And all the necessary conditions exist for this: Poti is the place where yet another experiment with bank participation -- a superficially less noticeable, maybe, but equally important experiment -- is being conducted to improve the organization of temporary credit work. It is very gratifying that today many comrades have displayed a good knowledge of production economics, financial matters, financial discipline, profit formation, and so forth. All these problems are becoming very urgent and are assuming, I would say, a political nature.

Or take the problem of introduction of the team form of labor organization and remuneration. This would appear to be the fundamental question for the people of Poti; they are simply obliged to march in the front ranks when resolving this important socioeconomic and political task. Nevertheless, analysis shows that the number of workers covered by this progressive form of labor organization in Poti is even lower than the average for the republic, and we even consider the republic average totally inadequate. There are very few comprehensive multiple-skill collectives, and the introduction of effective methods for providing material incentives for workers is lax. This in no way fits in with the good system for recording and distributing manpower on which we were briefed by Comrade R.A. Dzhaparidze [chairman of the Georgian State Committee for Labor] and the party gorkom first secretary. Scientific organization of labor must also be introduced more actively.

Recording of teams operating on a complete-job contract with remuneration for end results has not been organized in the requisite manner in the association, yet this is a most important condition for developing financial autonomy. Analysis of the growth of labor productivity and other quality indicators in teams is inadequate. It is correct to say that this is a republic-wide problem. We are not satisfied with the work in this direction. Our party and trade union organizations, the State Committee for Labor, and other interested organizations must also be more active.

It should be borne in mind that at the initial stage, when the Poti association and corresponding subdivision in Tbilisi's Zavodskiy Rayon were being created and established, many reserves for intensifying territorial management were literally visible on the surface. Even elementary daily supervision of enterprises' activity and the development of the most important performance indicators yielded good results. It is now time to look beneath the surface and work more systematically, on a scientific basis.

First and foremost it is extremely important to organically coordinate the association's work mechanism with the economic mechanism of the enterprises themselves and to engage specifically in improving this mechanism so that every working person can graphically see the advantages of his labor under the new conditions and become an ardent supporter of the new management methods. This must have an impact both on his wages and on his working and everyday living conditions -- and in a quite concrete way, not in just general terms. Not everything is still going smoothly here. The party Gorkom should study the question of improving the forms and methods of manpower organization and remuneration at the city's enterprises. This is a very big reserve.

The principles of regional management of industry must be pondered very seriously again from the viewpoint of increasing enterprises' autonomy. Today this is the most important avenue of our party's economic policy. Here there is a need for corresponding levers so that both regional and sector forms of management stimulate the growth of primary conponents' economic independence, initiative, and enterprise.

It is also time to talk about yet another problem. This is pricing, which as yet has not become the subject of close attention from the association, although the role of territorial-intersector organs in resolving it is pretty great. These processes are essentially being left to their own devices. No provision in the association has been made for even an official concerned with price questions, and the staff allocated to the gorispolkom have not gotten down to work, which in itself testifies that as yet we are manifestly underestimating the prices problem. Yet almost all the city's enterprises produce consumer goods, including new ones. Prices for them must be worked out, approved, analyzed, substantiated, and so forth. The first steps are being taken. We were convinced of this when we visited a special new products store. But these are only timid steps. Many aspects of the matter require further elaboration.

At present these questions have been handed over to the enterprises themselves, and these are not always competent. There is very little use of contractual prices -- only in two instances. Yet they are very beneficial for producer and trade organizations alike. It seems to me that comrades, and not only in Poti, have as yet not probed deeply enough into the essence of the problem. It would not be a bad thing if the corresponding Central Committee sections studied how the practice of contractual prices is being established in the republic.

We should concern ourselves in earnest with this problem everywhere, organize special pricing services using the staffs allocated to local ispolkoms for this, train cadres, and organize training for them at the State Committee on Prices, which, I have no doubt, will give effective assistance to the comrades from the localities.

There is a need for constant, strict monitoring of how efficiently transfers to centralized funds are made, particularly now, when the association has obtained the right, by agreement with the labor collectives, to concentrate an unlimited proportion of these funds in its own hands.

This is a fundamental question, a question of confidence in the new organs of regional management, and it affects the leaders of all cities where the Poti method is currently being introduced. Any kind of willful decision must be ruled out here. Otherwise we know what contracts of this kind sometimes conceal. The director is summoned to the gorkom and given an instruction -- transfer a certain sum for such-and-such a need. This can no longer be the case. All this work must be conducted on a serious democratic basis.

As is known, the USSR Council of Ministers accepted the republic government's proposal that in the 12th 5-Year Plan the Poti Gorispolkom be granted as an experiment all capital investments and material and technical resources and the corresponding quotas for the design planning and construction of housing and municipal, consumer service, and sociocultural projects. The Georgian Council of Ministers has been instructed to determine in conjunction with the union-level Gosplan a procedure for carrying out this work. It is necessary to accelerate the formulation of methodological instructions and normative documents for further expansion of the Territorial-Intersector Association's functions in terms of the questions envisaged by the new resolution.

This kind of approach also creates a good basis for coordinating our territorial innovations with the broad experiment currently taking place in a number of union-level ministries. We stressed back at the 17th plenum that the economic models of these experiments completely coincided and, you might say, totally overlapped, that complete commonality of objectives and tasks existed. This has also been convincingly argued today by comrade Z. D. Chivadze, General Director of Tbilisi's Elektrovozostroitel Production Association.

Both experiments envisage the expansion of grassroots components' autonomy, an increase in the role of qualitative indicators, the growth of economic incentives funds, and so forth. In brief, the enterprises and associations participating in the large-scale experiment and the territorial-intersector associations have an equal interest in increasing production efficiency. One of the things I am referring to here is the broad opportunities for cooperation in resolving social questions, where local management organs could give real assistance to enterprises in expending funds on collectives' social needs. Optimum use must be made of them.

At the same time, efforts to better harness these experiments together in solving production, economic, and financial problems should be stepped up. We have given such instructions not only to the people in Poti but also to the Tbilisi, Kutaisi, and Sukhumi comrades. As yet, however, their implementation is still slow.

III.

As for the prospects, the main thing is to strive for an even better combination of the sector and territorial principles, particularly in the field of cooperation with enterprises under union-level ministries and departments, and to use for this all forms and methods of coordination that have effectively proved themselves. In particular, now, when the USSR Council of Ministers has officially authorized union-level departments to participate in the experiment, they must be involved more actively by working out bilateral measures. This is a very effective practice with whose aid we have resolved a considerable number of major problems in recent years. Such contracts have now been concluded with many ministries. So what we have in evidence here is a precise program, mutual obligations, and mutual responsibility. If this method is enriched by the economic mechanism created in Poti, the results will probably be even more substantial.

We know that a number of ministries have agreed to particpate in the experiment. This is very gratifying since it makes it possible to achieve comprehensive utilization of the regions' economic potential. When extending the Poti experiment to other cities, consideration must also be given to the fact that as of this year, a proportion of the profit made by enterprises under union-level jurisdiction is transferred to the republic's budget. Thus to some extent union-level organizations are prepared for further steps, for closer cooperation. It can be said that the ice has begun to shift.

In this connection Kutaisi Gorispolkom Chairman Comrade V.A. Khazaradze raised the question of the need to also increase local organs' interest so that these transfers get to the rayons and cities and have an impact on the shaping of local budgets. It seems to me that this is the correct way to pose the question. But we need to sit down some more and ponder in depth how to ensure greater autonomy for rayon and city budgets and how to give comrades an interest in revenue so that everybody knows that if we work well and fulfill all the quantitative, qualitative, economic, and financial indicators not only will we ourselves be richer, but every rayon and city will be richer, and it will be easier to resolve the problems in the sociocultural sphere, amenity provision, and so forth.

Things must also be sorted out with respect to construction, transport, and trade organizations. Not fully conventional forms for cooperation between them and territorial-intersector associations are needed. Maybe they should also be included in this structure, or maybe the partnership method or other original forms of economic ties will prove more appropriate.

As of 1 January last year the Poti Gorispolkom Planning Commission became part of the territorial-intersector association, whose chief simultaneously became chairman of this commission. The comrades in Tbilisi immediately followed the same path, making the experiment more comprehensive. Nevertheless we are as yet resisting ready-made formulas and believe that the Poti scheme is not optimal for everybody in terms of the management of construction, transport, and the social infrastructure. Let other comrades also submit their proposals.

At the same time the association must constantly increase efforts in the field of planning, which is the crux of management. It is a question of ensuring that a plan for not only economic and technical but also social development is compiled at every enterprise and in every labor collective. Incidentally, this should not be confined to organizations participating in the experiment. It must encompass the city as a whole.

Incidentally, planning the social development of cities and rayons and also individual labor collectives is still not on the requisite scale in our republic. The weakness of the methodological and methods base and local planning organs obviously has an effect. The Poti territorial-intersector association and analogous organs in other cities and rayons can and must tackle this matter in an exemplary manner. In our view this is an important avenue for improving regional planning and management, and it is necessary not only to participate in the compilation of social development plans but also to actively influence their fulfillment and take on an organizational role.

On the other hand, to expand cooperation with ministries and departments it is very important to increase the business authority of territorial organs. Leaders at the center must be confident that if local comrades have taken up a task they will invariably see it through to the end, find the best, optimum solution, and relieve them of additional worries. Commercial principles in work must be reinforced so that it is graphically clear for what services the association receives a specific payment.

What kind of commerce are we talking about? In Zavodskiy Rayon, for example, the comrades study in depth the economic, technical, and technological problems facing enterprises, act as intermediaries in cooperation between science and production, and then receive a proportion of the profit. On the basis of partnership it proved possible to produce additional output worth R1.5 million last year alone. As yet these very interesting initiatives are perhaps not yielding a very great return. But I am confident that if the commercial activity of regional associations is dealt with seriously, knowledgeably, and with a high professional standard, the benefit will be much more substantial, and this will have a beneficial effect on city and rayon budget revenues.

In this respect I would actively support the initiative of the Gagra and also the Sukhumi and Batumi comrades. Commercial principles operate here, and I believe that this is a progressive approach that should be supported. Such trends must be encouraged and developed in every way, particularly under the conditions in Poti and other cities where the experiment is currently getting under way.

By transferring some of their concerns to local organs, republic and union-level components could concern themselves more fully with long-term questions, the improvement of the technical standard of production, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and other specific problems, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Here it is very important to elaborate the necessary methodology for recording the contribution and assessing the performance of territorial organs, which will enable them to better direct and concentrate their efforts and increase work efficiency and will at the same time strengthen their positions and authority. This is a task for the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and our economic scientists.

There is an acutely felt need to underpin the experiment with a solid juridical and legal foundation. As yet proposals have not been submitted from either the Ministry of Justice, the republic Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Law, and corresponding departments; everybody is silent. They are probably awaiting a special instruction from above. Consider that one has now been received. If it has an association as a business partner, a ministry or department must have a solid knowledge of what guarantees this territorial organ will give it and what responsibility it bears for the result. When a small group of us were listening to Comrade B.D. Gulua's briefing this morning, Comrade B.V. Nikolskiy put this question to him. Here is something for the Ministry of Justice and our legal academics to ponder in conjunction with planning, financial, and banking organs.

From the very inception of the Poti territorial-intersector association and other experimental management components, there have been diverse forms and methods for their mutual relations with the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, the banks, the State Committee on Prices, Gossnab, the Central Statistical Administration, the State Committee for Labor, and other interdepartmental organs. The main thing now, comrades, is for all of us to monitor very closely the progress of the innovations being implemented and assist the experimental subdivisions in making fuller use of the rights granted to them in the field of economic management.

In many respects our innovations are unparalleled. Therefore exceptional and sometimes even decisive significance is attached to a nonstereotyped, creative, enterprising approach. I must stress that union-level organs are not restricting us.

Thus, yesterday we also discussed certain questions in the Central Committee and unanimously reached the opinion that we have always had the full support of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and other union-level organs. This support persists today, as is best evidenced by the special resolution on the Poti experiment adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers.

It is also necessary to support creative principles in the upper echelons of republic management. However, for some reason we do not always perceive the requisite increased activeness in the work of certain Gosplan sections, although we have no other organ capable of heading the management of industrial centers, and it is with the Gosplan that regional components must be firmly linked.

Furthermore, the value of any experiment lies in ensuring that as it develops it increasingly becomes part of daily economic practice and gains legal rights. Here a great deal depends on the commission headed by Comrade N.A. Chitanava, which on the whole operates vigorously enough. The more rapidly our experimental organs acquire a complexion of their own, the better it will be for the economy, for the entire republic, and for all of us.

In this sense the Poti and Zavodskiy Rayon experiment is of fundamental significance. To put it figuratively, it is beginning a second, qualitatively new life: The time has come to spread it and extensively introduce it in all the republic's cities. While well-aware of the complexity of the work that lies ahead, I would like to stress that this is a very crucial and, I would say, pivotal moment. The future of these initiatives will be wholly dependent on our position and the scientifically substantiated identification of all their positive aspects.

This is indisputably a difficult question. Judging by the experience of managing the agro-industrial complex, we still do not know what kind of restructuring will be needed at the level of republic organs. Great difficulties also arise in such cities as Gori, Zugdidi, Tskhaltubo, Marneuli, Tkibuli, Chaitura, and Tskhinvali, whose territory houses enterprises, associations, and organizations belonging to rayon agro-industrial associations. They are linked with the rayon agro-industrial associations by production, financial, and other ties and constitute a considerable proportion, and sometimes the overwhelming majority, of the city's economic potential. It is not advisable to simultaneously include them in yet another regional management organ or withdraw them from the rayon agro-industrial association. Nor is it advisable to create intersector associations in these cities.

There are also problems in predominantly agricultural regions where industry not falling within the agro-industrial complex nevertheless has a substantial presence. This applies to such rayons as Gardabanskiy, Telavskiy, Zestafonskiy, Khashurskiy, Samtredskiy, Kaspiyskiy, and others. They have an extensive representation of enterprises from the light and electrical engineering industries, other sectors, and also construction, trade, municipal, and consumer services, and the urban social infrastructure, which as a rule remain outside the rayon agro-industrial association's purview and require coordinated leadership.

It is obvious that our scientists, practical workers, and workers in central republic organs will have to seriously examine and discuss this important issue and submit corresponding proposals.

Of course, attempts must be made to introduce and spread justified experiments as expeditiously as possible. However, in some cities and rayon centers about which there are fears that they are not yet properly prepared, it might be better not to rush, to wait until all the factors have been clarified. Otherwise we run the risk of compromising the good idea of regional management.

Remember that we embarked on the improvement of the management of agricultural production and the agro-industrial complex in Abashskiy Rayon in 1973. It was only 10 years later, after substantial elaboration of all the issues, that we proceeded to merge the republic ministeries; that is, we attempted to give full consideration to all the "pros" and "cons" and thereby, I believe, avoided any serious mistakes. This time too we need time to thoroughly work out the new management machinery.

Another problem: When creating the territorial-intersector association in Poti we agreed to a certain increase in management apparatus staff. This is understandable; it was something new, many things were not clear, and it was necessary to perfect the mechanism. Under current conditions this kind of approach is no longer justified. The optimization of management involves fitting in with existing opportunities and even seeking a reduction in personnel. This is our categorical demand.

This is precisely what has been achieved in the agro-industrial complex, where the management apparatus has been reduced by approximately 20 percent in the course of reorganization. A similar effect has been achieved in capital construction following the merger of the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Rural Construction. It is also necessary to operate along the same lines when extending the Poti experiment and ensure a certain degree of centralization of some functional components. On the basis of optimizing labor and reducing personnel, it is also possible to contemplate increasing the wages of association workers, which are presently 40 percent lower than in production. Yet the most highly skilled specialists are needed in the management sphere.

At the same time there is a need for a more active application of mathematic-economic methods and modern means of computer technology and office equipment and for the introduction of a progressive system for collecting, processing, and transmitting data. At one time the Central Committee set the task of elaborating an automated system for administering the city of Poti. It is necessary to speed up the work that has been started and in other regions carry it out in parallel with the resolution of organizational matters. It is essentially a question of creating a new, so-called "paperless" management technology.

Since we have touched on the spheres of science and scientific and technical progress, I would like to share a few impressions from the all-union conference on these questions held in the CPSU Central Committee and spell out the role and place of local management organs in resolving the tasks set by the conference.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and all the participants in the Moscow conference posed the questions in very sharp and principled terms and stressed that this is a decisive avenue of economic and political activity. Very sharp facts were cited, and there was a great deal of criticism. But on the whole the mood was optimistic. Key tasks were set both in the field of further developing science and technology and also in the context of improving the economic mechanism, the management of the economy as a whole, and the intensification of the party's influence on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

When briefing the conference on the republic's experience in administering the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and progressive experience, we dwelt in particular on the mechanism for directing scientific and technical progress in the territorial context, in the course of which we also spoke about the corresponding components in the rayon agro-industrial associations and the territorial-intersector associations.

Within the context of these systems the most favorable opportunities exist for broadening the partnership between science and production and seeking new forms of incentive for scientists and production workers to introduce scientific and technical achievements and strive for big economic benefits. In this sphere too it is necessary to operate in a nonstereotyped and enterprising manner, seek ways to concentrate creative potential on the key problems, and solve these problems speedily and at the level of the latest achievements.

In the scientific sphere, departmentalism and parochialism are particularly intolerable and result in enormous losses, and territorial-intersector organs possess effective levers for successfully overcoming them. In Poti, Tbilisi's Zavodskiy Rayon, and also Kutaisi and Rustavi they have taken charge of the coordination of work to uncover and mobilize intersector reserves for improving the technical standard of production and product quality and are striving to ensure the rational utilization of scientific, technological, and intellectual potential.

The corresponding structural components of associations monitor the fulfillment of sector plans for the introduction of new equipment and advanced technology, coordinate rationalization activity, and enlist engineers and specialists in solving technical and technological problems regardless of which department's jurisdiction they are under. Temporary project teams are created to carry out the whole range of jobs -- from compilation of the technical documention to the manufacture and tuning of new equipment.

A substantial step in this direction has been the construction on the Poti association's initiative of an intersector technical equipment plant, with the association and certain city enterprises participating on a proportional basis. The plant's output will promote the improvement of enterprises' technical standard, accelerate the commissioning of new equipment, and play an important role in expanding production of consumer goods, improving their consumer qualities, and so forth.

Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed that the planned measures for scientific and technological progress must pay for themselves and that it is necessary to earn the resources needed to improve the technical standard of production and product quality -- and these are the most important elements of financial autonomy, on which associations base their work. The idea of creating in associations a special scientific and technological development fund that could become the source for financing comprehensive targeted programs merits attention. Let comrades give thought to what sources such a fund could be formed from. Also submit other proposals. We will support any valuable initiatives. We have a right to expect particular activeness from the people in Tbilisi, who have the overwhelming majority of the republic's scientific potential concentrated in their hands. There are great opportunities in Abkhazia, Adzharia, the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, Kutaisi, Rustavi, and other regions.

A more detailed discussion on all these problems will take place at the imminent meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv on scientific and technological progress, which will discuss the results of the Moscow conference and progress in fulfillment of the decisions of our sixth plenum. Nevertheless, let me take this opportunity to say a few words about the role of scientific institutions, primarily economic institutions, in elaborating the fundamentals of the economic innovations that are being carried out and also the problems arising in the process of implementing them.

We have a right to expect from our scientists serious proposals and solid generalizations of the results of our experiments in the agroindustrial complex and in industry, construction, trade, consumer services, the finance and credit spheres, and other areas of production, economic, and financial activity. Is it possible to accept the fact that practice has considerably outstripped science in these questions? And this is not the first time this has been mentioned. All decisions, regulations, normative documents, and other documents relating to experiments are basically processed in central committee and council of ministers sections, Gosplan, the ministry of finance, banking institutions, and other republic organs, while scientists are often left out.

In this connection, a few words about the position of certain scientific institutions. We have created a special laboratory for management problems at the USSR Committee for Science and Technology's Institute of National Economic Management and specially reconstituted the republic Gosplan's scientific research institute so it can comprehensively study in depth the problems of improving the economic mechanism and management of the economy, including territorial-intersector associations.

The laboratory, which currently operates on the basis of existing resources, is as yet still young; it is currently at the stage of taking shape and determining its place in the republic's system of scientific establishments. However, the formative process must not be particularly protracted. It must get down to practical work more quickly, precisely clarify its tasks, and avoid fragmenting its efforts but concentrate them on the key, most urgent problems, on the questions which cannot be deferred. The central committee economic section should obviously make more effective use of this laboratory's potential, making it the leading organization in the field of studying and elaborating the management experiments in the republic.

We request Comrade Z.A. Chkheidze [Georgian Gosplan chairman] to concern himself personally with this institute and orient it in the direction we need.

We expect more from the Institute of Economics, Planning, and Management of the National Economy under the Gosplan; from the Institute of Economics and Law under the Georgian Academy of Sciences, on whose behalf its director, Academician A.L. Guniya, has spoken today; from the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Organization; and from economic subunits and other scientific institutions. We are talking about specific recommendations for improving the economic mechanism.

On the other hand, some of our leaders are also not always enthusiastic about cooperating with scientists, still do not feel the need for close contacts with science, and sometimes adopt completely the wrong tone and conduct when dealing with representatives of science.

This is completely intolerable. We do not have the right to fail to use the tremendous intellectual potential created in the republic. And if we have certain achievements and some positive experience in economic practice, we have an obligation to strive to ensure that our economic science is at the same level and earns high prestige in the country, as some other research fields and scientific schools in the republic have done.

IV.

No matter what kind of sophisticated form of management we may create, any scheme will die unless the human factor is fully mobilized, unless concern is displayed for cadres and the growth of their initiative, responsibility, and discipline. The intensification of party influence in the management sphere means primarily the intensification of party influence on people.

The Poti Communists have fine traditions dating back to the legendary saga of the opening of Kolkhida during the years of the first 5-year plans. We know about their services during the years of the Great Patriotic War. They also have a considerable number of other glorious deeds to their credit. Today they are resolving equally important problems, which will undoubtedly leave their mark on the development of the republic's economic potential.

All work to improve management and likewise to raise the standard of economic activity as a whole is the result of persistent and consistent work by the city's party organization, the party gorkom, and the city soviet. The best people, leading workers, production innovators, and the most highly skilled specialists, who have formed the backbone of this harmonious collective, have been enlisted in this work.

In the course of the experiment it has been necessary to overcome considerable obstacles and barriers, and on some occasions even manifest resistance has been encountered. I remember how many opponents the abasha method had, how many people there were who preferred to criticize our initiatives while standing on the sidelines. Maybe you also know about these things, and this is no bad thing. Barriers of this kind mobilize and discipline people and compel them to ponder their actions, assess them self-critically, and avoid serious, fundamental errors. This is also good because every initiative has its opponents. It is not for nothing that it is said that truth is born in controversy.

Our cadres also matured in this controversy. They have become more highly tempered, competent, and versatile. It is a source of pride that many of our party gorkom and raykom secretaries are now capable of discussing state problems in a qualified manner at the highest level and are armed with convincing arguments and good logic. This confirms that our cadres have indeed matured.

Take Poti Gorkom First Secretary B.D. Gulua himself. He has recently received many compliments, but we are convinced that this will not dampen his enthusiasm. It is greatly to his credit that the Poti experiment is gaining widespread recognition. The experiment in Zavadskiy Rayon provided a good schooling for Comrade K.V. Kapanadze, whom we have promoted to Tbilisi Gorkom secretary, and he is now responsible for introducing these innovations on a capital-wide scale, working under the leadership of the gorkom bureau. The speeches by Comrade V.I. Alavidze (Abkhaz Obkom second secretary] and other party and Soviet leaders were distinguished primarily by their in-depth knowledge of the essence of the problem. There are also other comrades, some of whom are sitting in this hall.

A great deal of work is being done in the field of training and retraining cadres. Thus, a permanent school-seminar for improving professional competence and acquiring economic skills operates in the Poti territorial-intersector association alongside existing forms.

At the same time our Vuzes are virtually not concerned with the training of leader-managers of the new type. Yet a worker finds it easier to develop modern economic thinking in the course of training. And leaders themselves must concern themselves more with broadening their horizons. Take Poti association chief Comrade V.S. Tikhov, a qualified and competent engineer and fine specialist. It is good that this man has come here from production and knows its specifics. However, under the conditions in which he works it is very important to also have a perfect knowledge of economics and a good command of its terms. It is time that analytical work was intensified in the association. This is required by the interests of the further intensification of economic management and the interests of scientific and technological progress. It is obligatory for him to master finance. He must give good consideration to these remarks, especially since we consider him a promising worker.

Every leader must assimilate economic processes in depth and make decisions on a scientific basis. As the Poti experiment spreads, a problem that is arising is training at one time a large number of party, soviet, and economic leaders and specialists in management problems, professionals in their own field. The requisite base for this exists in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee center for increasing the qualifications of party, soviet, and economic leaders. It is necessary to embark immediately on the elaboration of corresponding training programs.

We can sense the Poti Gorkom's work style improving as the new mechanism establishes itself. The prospects are now more discernible, and the comrades are tackling really interesting and important questions and have unburdened themselves of minor current economic matters. This can be judged, to give just one example, from the fact that the first secretary himself has begun to travel more and study advanced experience, and this can only have a positive impact on work.

Intraparty activity is improving. The central committee party organizational work section and our party commission recently examined the organization of monitoring and verification of the execution of decisions in the Poti Gorkom. It was noted that under the conditions of the experiment the party gorkom bureau is shifting the emphasis from current economic questions to problems of management, the improvement of executive discipline, the improvement of work with cadres, and so forth. All the bureau members have been actively mobilized, and the broad party aktiv is being involved.

At the same time not all the reserves have been exhausted, particularly at the primary party organization level; they are not yet all fully imbued with the spirit of the experiment, and some people are continuing to work in the old way. The party gorkom must precisely orient itself with respect to the prospects for the 12th 5-Year Plan and get a clear picture of the future course of the experiment and ways to further improve it. It is necessary to ensure the widespread participation of labor collectives in elaborating the plans for the next 5-year plan and involve the trade unions and other social organizations in this matter. Only then will it be possible to talk about comprehensive and systematic work to uncover production reserves and the optimum combination of centralization and local initiative.

It seems to us that here too the Poti city party organization must set an example to others and set the tone in work. The more actively that we are able to enlist our working people in planning and management, the greater will be the benefit and the more the experiment will be in tune with the requirements of developed socialism. The council of primary party organization secretaries from the enterprises and organizations belonging to the association must also make its voice heard here.

It is extremely necessary to increase labor collectives' efforts to accelerate scientific and technological progress. This applies primarily to machine building, construction, and the other sectors on which the rate of renewal of the production apparatus depends to a decisive extent. All party organizations' activity must be centered on these questions. For example, we adopted a good and useful decision on transforming the primary organizations of scientific and technological societies and the all-union inventors and rationalizers society into support centers for the system for directing scientific and technological progress created in the republic. But this objective can be reached in reality not through words but only through action. How can social, planning, and other organizations' efforts be better pooled with enterprises' engineering services? What are the role and place of chief engineers and chief specialists in this work? As yet a great deal is still unclear here, particularly in the organizational respect.

It seems to us that central committee and council of ministers sections must concern themselves more intensively and persistently with questions of territorial-intersector management, gain a command of the situation not only in Poti but also in other cities, and join in this work from the very first stage. This will make it possible to avoid many mistakes and save time. There are instances of comrades artificially complicating matters, attempting to do everything from scratch, so to speak, just so they can have their own say, and unjustifiably rejecting many good and justified options.

All this also proves that propagandization of the experience of Poti and other cities and rayons must be improved. I have had occasion to familiarize myself with many publications. The mass media have joined actively in the work and support us, and we cannot fail to remark on this. Expert articles have been published in the central press -- in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and other newspapers. However many articles still lack the requisite depth and give the impression that some journalists, scientists, and specialists -- even good ones -- have not fully probed the essence of this method, and we need very serious, well-argued items, desk-top aids, as it were. The experiment is the object of attention not only in the republic but throughout the country, and this imposes a great responsibility.

Our cultural figures and writers displayed great interest in what happened in abasha. This problem inspired them and enabled them to express in artistic language the changes that the experiment made to this once backward region's life. You will remember the talented book by our well-known writer Konstantin Lordkipanidze. Everybody read it with gratification and learned from it.

A book by Amiran Abshilava on the first steps in the Poti experiment was also published. We are grateful to our well-known director Giga Lordkipanidze, who decided to devote a movie to it. But there are still manifestly insufficient expert attempts to conceptualize in artistic form the new phenomena in our life and the establishment of new relationships between people. Yet what is happening is a breakdown, a revolutionary breakdown of established views and notions and stereotyped thinking. There is a great deal of real conflict, discussion, and struggle here. In other words, there is fertile solid for any subject, even the most acute. And the main thing is that all this work is being done by our contemporaries, who are making history, and making it with the means they have at hand, and their contribution is no less significant and valuable than the services of other generations of Soviet people.

We are confident that with the passage of time this experiment will justify itself even more and reveal considerable new advantages of the socialist system of economic management. And we are convinced that the communists of Poti, like the communists of Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Sukhumi, Rustavi, and other cities, will do everything incumbent upon them to confirm the great effectiveness of the steps that have been taken and will actively develop the quest for reserves for successfully completing the current year and making a vigorous start on the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Allow me to wish you new successes in this great, noble, and important state matter!

VOROTNIKOV VIEWS ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN SIBERIA

Addresses Novosibirsk Forum

PM231553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 85 First Edition p 2

[TASS Report: "Siberia: Strategy of Acceleration"]

[Text] Novosibirsk 18 Jul -- The acceleration of scientific and technological progress: The all-union scientific conference is being held in Novosibirsk's Akademgorodok is devoted to that key question of economic intensification.

The country's prominent scientists, first secretaries of CPSU kraykoms and obkoms, leaders of ministries and departments, and CPSU Central Committee senior officials are taking part in the major scientific forum, which is discussing ways of developing Siberia in the 12th 5-Year Plan and producing a forecast of its economic and social aspect on the threshhold of the 21st century.

V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, addressed the first plenary session today. He expressed confidence that this representative meeting of scientists, leaders of union and republic ministries and departments, and party and soviet workers will end with the adoption of many useful recommendations -- both for science and for production. This conference will undoubtedly be a point of departure for the solution of many important tasks facing us on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the longer term.

The Central Committee, the speaker went on, poses the task of increasing the economic growth rate in the years ahead, fundamentally increasing labor productivity, radically improving output quality, and ensuring a considerable saving of resources. I believe, the speaker said, that you are all well aware of the task's political, economic, and social significance and of the domestic and foreign factors conditioning it.

The acceleration of scientific and technological progress is the key to economic intensification. The frank and principled discussion at the CPSU Central Committee conference in June helped to outline ways of resolving this problem. Realization of the goals put forward at the conference and the large-scale use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress must become the cause of all the party and all the people.

Soviet scientists must of course participate most actively in this nationwide campaign for high economic efficiency. As for science in Siberia, it must play a special role in the light of current demands: We rightly link the prospects for the country's further progress and the acceleration of its economic and social development rates with the advance of this important region.

There are, of course, paramount tasks among the great diversity of problems -- economic, social, and ecological -- that Siberian scientists are resolving. The main problem is that of fuel and energy. The situation in the development of Siberia's fuel and energy complex, particularly in the oil industry, has been seriously complicated recently by the backlog in the commissioning of known deposits, the inadequacy of extraction techniques, and the poor development of the construction base, the power industry, transportation, and social infrastructure facilities. The efforts of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the Academy of Medical Sciences, and sectorial and VUZ science must be focused on resolving these important problems of the accelerated development of the West Siberian oil and gas complex.

Coal industry enterprises in the Kuzbass and the Kansk-Achinsk basin also need retooling on the basis of new scientific technologies. Nor can we fail to be concerned at the fact that Siberia, possessing very rich energy resources, has long suffered an energy shortage. This is a temporary phenomenon, of course, although it is slowing down the development of economical energy-intensive production processes in the region.

The concept of long-term development of the country's national economy, the speaker stressed, envisages further enhancement of the role of the Siberian fuel and energy complex. By the end of the century approximately 70 percent of the country's oil and gas, over one-half of its coal, and at least 18-20 percent of its electricity are to be produced here. In that context the comprehensive search for ways to save resources during the extraction, transportation, processing, and use of fuel and energy resources is a paramount task of statewide significance. The most obvious and sensible way to save resources is to reduce waste, which is still great at oilfields, in gas extraction, at coal enterprises, and in enrichment factories. Under these conditions it is of paramount significance to make wider use of resource-saving processes.

Work in this sphere is already in progress within the framework of the "Siberia" program, although it must be accelerated. Resource saving, as the CPSU Central Committee June conference stressed, must be one of the main trends of our investment policy. The resolution of problems related to fuel, energy, and raw materials is closely connected with the exploration for and discovery of new stocks of natural resources and with an expansion of geological exploration work. Here, too, it is important to correctly determine the priority areas of capital investments. Geology specialists believe that the bulk of the resources should continue to be channeled into exploration for oil, primarily for large deposits. We are still virtually just beginning to investigate the potential oil and gas resources of east Siberia. The proximity of these deposits to the Baykal-Amur railroad is an important argument in favor of the accelerated creation of a new all-union oil and gas extraction base. The estimate of the hydrocarbon resources believed to be on the Arctic and Far East sea shelf is also good. Geologists are faced with the task of ensuring the necessary rate of development of the extraction of nonferrous metals, bauxites, diamonds, gold, tin, tungsten, molybdenum, and other nonferrous and precious metals and minerals. Experience shows that geological prospectors need the intensive involvement of the scientific potential of the Academy of Sciences' Siberian Department.

When determining the overall strategy of technical progress in Siberia, our scientific subunits are called on to consider comprehensively the region's specific features, which sharply increase the prime cost of equipment and the capital-intensiveness of construction here. Our planners, technologists, and designers are still not taking into account Siberia's specific features in the development of machine building -- its scale and prospects both in the technology sphere and in terms of the manpower problem. It must not be forgotten that whenever we create low-productivity equipment we aggravate a manpower problem which is already acute in Siberia. The intensive assimilation of Siberia's natural resources is also indissolubly linked with organizing the production of equipment designed for use in the North.

In addition to paying the utmost attention to those sectors that determine the specialization of economic regions, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed, the harmonious development of Siberia also requires that we show constant concern for all other spheres, both production and social. This primarily means the creation of a modern infrastructure -- energy supply systems and transport and communications facilities. In that context the speaker dwelt in detail on questions of ensuring the reliable supply of foodstuffs -- mostly locally produced -- to the region's population.

This problem can only be resolved by intensifying agriculture and increasing the efficiency of all its sectors on the basis of scientific and technological progress. And that means that Siberia's scientists should broaden the front of the creation of highly productive techniques in crop farming and stockraising and introduce scientifically validated recommendations to improve the economic mechanism within the system of the agroindustrial complex.

The present stage of Siberia's development requires a fundamentally new approach to the conservation and use of its natural resources. Those resources are indeed tremendous and the concern for them must be correspondingly great. Unfortunately, the poetic description of Siberia as a "region of countless riches" still spellbinds our economic leaders. Here the system of natural resource utilization is mainly developing extensively, with a high degree of "waste" in the development, extraction, processing, and consumption of these natural resources and materials.

All this indicates that the main task in conservation is to increase the degree to which natural resources brought into economic circulation are utilized. We see fundamental resolution of the problem in the establishment of a regional, waste-free production process by linking up enterprises producing different types of waste products in ecologically based industrial complexes. Siberia's scientists must work hard on this matter. This is particularly important in the north, where the natural environment is particularly vulnerable and the natural recovery of ecological systems proceeds very slowly.

Dwelling next on the implementation of Siberia's social development program, the speaker stressed that the party's line of achieving our society's balanced economic and social development is of special significance for Siberia. Despite the scale of the positive changes that have taken place in Siberians' living conditions, the zone's social sphere is still developing more slowly than the production sphere, a fact that ultimately harms the economy too.

Under the specific conditions of this region, where, as we know, every step forward requires considerably greater efforts than in other parts of the country, the question of formulating a long-term picture of its cultural development is acute. Improving people's health care is an important aspect of Siberia's social development program. To be brief, we must make full use of the country's accumulated experience of socialist building, which has demonstrated the effectiveness of the targeted program approach to the solution of major regional problems. For example, use of the targeted program approach to resolve the Baykal-Amur railroad's problems enabled us in a relatively short time to build a unique railroad and begin assimilating natural resources in the adjacent zone.

After dwelling next on the problems of forming a scientific reserve within such major state programs, the speaker noted that the contribution of Siberia's scientists to the development of Soviet and world science is weighty and multifaceted. Their achievements in the sphere of fundamental research forming the basis of large-scale applied work and of fundamentally new technological solutions are widely known. Siberia's researchers have pioneered many effective ways of bringing science closer to practice. Now, however, the country expects Siberia's scientists to take a new step forward along the path toward the "monolithic fusion" of science and production, whose necessity was noted by V.I. Lenin. The party now considers it necessary to consolidate science's experimental testing, drafting, and design base and improve the organizational-economic forms of integrating science, technology, and production. Siberia already has such experience and it must be comprehensively consolidated.

Our party and government, V.I. Vorotnikov said in conclusion, rate Soviet scientists' work highly. This was demonstrated by the scientific and technical progress conference in June and its conclusions on the high appreciation of scientists. Allow me to express the confidence that scientists of the Academy of Sciences' Siberian Department will respond to that concern by increasing their efforts in the work of studying topical problems of developing the production forces of Siberia and of our entire country.

The participants in the conference also heard reports and speeches by Academician A.P. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician V.A. Koptyug, chairman of the academy's Siberian Department, and leaders of ministries and departments, and speeches by representatives of Siberia's krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics.

The scientific conference continues its work on 19 July.

Tours Tomsk, Novosibirsk

LD201559 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] From 17 to 20 July Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, was in Tomsk and Novosibirsk oblasts. He took part in the all-union scientific conference on development of the productive forces of Siberia and on tasks for a-celerating scientfic-technological progress which took place in Novosibirsk. The growing significance of science in solving the fundamental problem of today, raising the efficiency of the country's economy, is being felt in the daily practices of labor collectives. In one of them, at the Novosibirsk instrument-making factory named after Lenin, during conversations with managers, engineering-technical workers, team-leaders, and workers, Comrade Vorotnikov expressed interest in the progress in fulfilling the enterprise's technical reequipment program and the expertise that had built up in interaction with the scientists of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Having familiarized himself with one of the first sections in the industry with modern computer-controlled machine-tool equipment, he noted that the issues of raising production quality being solved successfully at the enterprise are of political as well as economic significance.

In one of the shops, talk turned to strengthening discipline and good order. The workers who took part in the conversations responded with full approval to the measures aimed at eradicating drunkenness and alcoholism. Issues concerned with the intensification of agricultural production on the basis of the achievements of science and technology were at the center of attention at meetings with agrobusiness workers at Salmenskiy and Berdskiy sovhozes. The managers of these Novosibirsk farms told about their expertise in introducing innovations in selection, field-crop cultivation, and effifient technologies on farms.

In Tomsk Oblast Comrade Vorotnikov acquainted himself with the work of a number of industrial agrobusiness enterprises, the institutes of Tomsk's academic community of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and visited the university. At the Tomsk petrochemical combine, where the enterprise's third complex due for commissioning -- a formulain works -- recently went into operation, Comrade Vorotnikov interested himself in the rates of construction of new capacities. In conversations with petrochemists, the importance of bringing the industry's flagship as quickly as possible up to design capacity with the use of the newest technology and vanguard methods of labor organization was stressed. Interesting expertise has been built up by the inhabitants of Tomsk in supplying the oblast's inhabitants with products of livestock-rearing and agriculture of their own production.

At a meeting with the collectives of the Mezh eninovka broiler factory and the (?Kutavlevskiy) hot-house combine and the swine-complex in Tomsk, Comrade Vorotnikov familiarized himself with the practice of year-round vegetable cultivation and stressed the need to introduce intensive industrial technology into the production of agricultural produce. For that it is important to use the powerful potential of local fertilizers with turf replacing organics; their output has been organized at specialized turf-compost areas.

In conversations with leaders of party and local government bodies in the Novosibirsk and Tomsk Oblast party committees there was talk about topical issues concerning implementation of plans for economic and social development, the organizations' experience in fulfilling the decisions of the April and July CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and the points in the CPSU Central Committee conference on issues of accelerating scientific-technological progress.

In his trip through the oblasts Comrade Vorotnikov was accompanied by: in Novosibirsk, Comrade Filatov, first secretary of the obkom and Comrade Bokov, chairman of the oblast oblispolkom; and in Tomsk, Comrade Melnikov, first secretary of the obkom and Comrade Vysotskiy, chairman of the oblispolkom.

LIZICHEV NEW ARMY, NAVY POLITICAL DEPARTMENT HEAD

AU240745 Paris AFP in English 0725 GMT 24 Jul 85

[Text] Moscow, July 24 (AFP) -- General Aleksey Lizichev, 57, is the new head of the key political department of the Red Army and Navy, the Soviet Army newspaper RED STAR confirmed today.

He succeeds General Aleksey Yepichev, 77, who was moved last week after holding the post for 23 years.

Gen. Lizichev was formerly political chief of Soviet military forces stationed in East Germany. The confirmation of his appointment came in a report that "General A.D. Lizichev, head of the Army and Navy Political Department" had met a delegation of Syrian political officers, led by General D. Juni, in the second half of July.

On July 17, a Defence Ministry spokesman told AFP of General Lizichev's promotion, and said that General Yepishev was assuming "other duties," but gave no details. RED STAR did not mention General Yepishev. General Yepishev has been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party since 1964, and was regarded as one of the most influential officers in the Red Army. In the early 1930s he was active in the ranks of the Komsomols (young communists), rising to political commissar during World War II and deputy minister of State Security (1951-53). He carried out purges of regional communist organisations in the Ukraine for Nikita Khrushev and then became Soviet ambassador to Romania (1955-1961) and Yugoslavia (1961-62).

The head of the Red Army's Political Department occupies a key post as he supervises the political officers attached to all military units to see that the party line is carried out.

The replacement of General Yepishev by a man 20 years younger is looked on by observers here as one more sign of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's wish to replace older officers and politicians and rejuvenate the leadership.

The appointment also strengthens the party's hold over the Army and Navy, following the delicate situation arising from the dismissal last September of Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov as chief of staff and deputy defence minister.

CHANGES IN MILITARY OFFICERS' POSITIONS NOTED

PM240847 [Editorial Report] Moscow Krasnaya Zvezda in Russian on 21 July in its second edition carries on page 2 an article by Lieutenant General D. Zhilnikov, who is identified as "first deputy chief of the Political Directorate of the Strategic Missile Forces."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 July 1985 First Edition carries on page 6 a report by special correspondents A. Gorokhov and G. Lebanidze on the Kavkaz-85 exercise, in which Transcaucasus Military District Chief of Staff Lieutenant General A. Kleymenov is identified as "first deputy commander of the district's troops."